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ALEXANDER VI. AND THE DEMARCATION OF THE  
MARITIME AND COLONIAL DOMAINS OF SPAIN  
AND PORTUGAL, 1493-1494<sup>1</sup>

PERHAPS there are, in the whole history of diplomacy, no documents which have aroused more passionate discussions and given occasion to more divergent commentaries, than the bulls of Alexander VI. relating to the colonial expansion of Spain. Promulgated at a critical moment in the evolution of Europe, a moment marked by the rise of the modern states and the decline of the papacy, they belong to a period of political and religious transition. If they have obtained so extraordinary a prominence, it is because of the mass of various and important events with which they were associated: the rapid enlargement of the geographical horizon, colonial expansion, religious propaganda, the foundation of international law, the transformation of the relations between Church and State. They have been published in the great diplomatic collections, and the chief of them (*Inter caetera*, May 4) is found in the *Corpus* of the Catholic canon law. It is nowise surprising that they have been considered from very different points of view: they have been of interest alike to geographers and to historians, to theologians, statesmen, and jurists, and the opinions expressed regarding them have varied with the different epochs, quite as much as with the different minds of those expressing them. To relate the history of the discussions occasioned by these documents would be to set forth comprehensively all the transformations of modern and contemporary historiography.

Even to-day, despite the searching investigations to which these

<sup>1</sup> This article constitutes a part of a study concerning the significance of the bull of demarcation in the history of colonial expansion. The author is professor of geography, diplomatic, and palaeography in the University of Liège, but is now resident in Oxford, England. Ed.

bulls have been subjected, despite the publication of a number of sources already considerable,<sup>2</sup> opinions are much divided, and several problems, enigmas even, are still to be solved, with respect to their scope and meaning.

In the first place what was the rôle of Alexander VI. himself? Did he undertake a veritable partition of the world? And did he do this in the capacity of an arbiter, of a supreme judge, of a guardian of the peace, or otherwise? Was he protecting the interests of the two leading colonial powers, or only those of one of them? What was, at the beginning, the importance of the line of demarcation, and who was its author? What force did the Spanish sovereigns and the princes of the period ascribe to the bulls in question? The opinion which has long prevailed is that which regards Alexander VI. as an arbiter. This opinion was sustained especially by Hugo Grotius,<sup>3</sup> and one of its principal upholders at the present time is L. Pastor.<sup>4</sup> According to this author, the pope, at the time of the conflict which arose between Spain and Portugal with respect to the lands discovered by Columbus, was invited to act as mediator; he decided in a peaceful manner a series of very thorny boundary questions, and these decisions are to be regarded as one of the glories of the papacy.<sup>5</sup> Another view, held by E. G. Bourne,

<sup>2</sup> The study of the bulls of May 3 and 4 has been made easier since photographs of the transcripts of them in the papal registers have been published by Heywood, *Documenta Selecta e Tabulario Secreto Vaticano quae Romanorum Pontificum erga Americae Populos curam . . . testantur* (Typis Vaticanis, 1893), and by J. B. Thacher, *Christopher Columbus*, vol. II. *The American Historical Review* has published (XIV. 764-776, 1909) a photograph of the bull *Inter caetera* of May 3, and the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas* (no. 7. April, 1915) reproduced another photograph of the same bull, and a photograph of that of May 4. The bull of September 26, *Dudum siquidem*, has not been found in the papal registers, but there are two copies of it in the Archives of the Indies at Seville (see V. Lloréns Asensio, *La Primera Vuelta al Mundo*, 1903, appendix). The text was published by Solorzano, *De Indiarum Jure*, I. 613 (1629). On this bull, see the article by Miss Frances G. Davenport on "The Privileges of Columbus", *American Historical Review*, XIV. 767 (1909). Titles of bulls have throughout the present article been cited in normalized Latin spelling, in deference to custom, though in quotations from bulls, as in other quotations, the spelling of the originals has been preserved.

<sup>3</sup> Grotius, *De Mare Libero*, cap. III.: [Alexander VI.] "lectus inter illos [Lusitanos et Castellanos] arbiter".

<sup>4</sup> L. Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, VI. 159-162 (second ed., London, 1901). The same theory is set forth by J. Hergenröther, *Catholic Church and Christian State* (London, 1876), II. 149-154, and by M. Gosselin, *The Power of the Pope during the Middle Ages* (London, 1853), II. 240-243.

<sup>5</sup> L. Pastor, *op. cit.*, VI. 162, interprets the bull of May 4, 1493, relative to the colonial dominions of Spain, in accordance with that of 1497 relative to Portuguese Africa, and adds this singular remark: "If this formula [free consent of



S. E. Dawson, and H. HARRISSE,<sup>6</sup> is that Alexander VI. intervened in the conflict between Spain and Portugal, not as an arbiter, but as supreme judge of Christendom, or guardian of its peace. It is asserted that, at least in respect of certain dispositions appearing in the bulls, he took the initiative in order to prevent strife. Finally, an opinion completely differing from all the preceding has been expressed by E. NYS. He believes it possible to prove that the rôle of Alexander VI. was absolutely a nullity, his bulls containing neither an arbitral decision nor even an ascription of sovereignty.<sup>7</sup>

Among the problems which have most exercised the acuteness of scholars is that of the dates of the first three bulls and of the order in which they were issued. The first bull *Inter caetera*, granting to the Spanish monarchs the sovereignty over the lands discovered and to be discovered toward the westward, is dated May 3, as is also the bull *Eximiae devotionis*, which repeats that portion of the first bull stipulating that that sovereignty shall be exercised in the same manner as that of the King of Portugal in his possessions. The second bull *Inter caetera* reproduces its predecessor almost completely, except for this stipulation relative to Portuguese sovereignty, in the place of which appears a provision establishing a line of demarcation in the Atlantic. This bull of demarcation is dated May 4.

An examination of the subscriptions and of the habitual chancery indications will permit us to solve this problem, which has hitherto appeared insoluble. Thanks to the originals of the two bulls *Inter caetera* and to the papal registers containing transcripts of the three bulls, we can determine whether the documents were drawn up or issued on the dates indicated, and at the same time can determine exactly the nature of these documents. In the first place, it

the inhabitants] is wanting in the document of 1493, it is merely because it was understood as included in the title itself". The same position is maintained by J. Hergenröther, *op. cit.*, II. 152. These scholars have omitted to read the essential part of the "disposition" of the bull of 1497: "illa [regna infidelium] conquirendi plenam et liberam facultatem elargimur".

<sup>6</sup> E. G. Bourne, "The Demarcation Line of Alexander VI." (*Yale Review*, May, 1892, pp. 35-55). The author republished this article with some additions and modifications in his *Essays in Historical Criticism* (New York, 1901); see especially pp. 198-201, 203, where he shows the efforts of Alexander VI. to "satisfy both sides". S. E. Dawson, "The Line of Demarcation of Pope Alexander VI., 1493, and the Treaty of Tordesillas, 1494" (*Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1899, sect. II., p. 467; see pp. 490, 495). H. HARRISSE, *The Diplomatic History of America* (London, 1897), pp. 32, 35, 39.

<sup>7</sup> E. NYS, *Études de Droit International et de Droit Politique* (Brussels and Paris, 1896), p. 193.

can be stated that they issued from the *camera apostolica* and not from the offices of the chancery properly so called. The originals in fact bear, at the right, under the lower fold, the signature of the personal secretary of Alexander VI., Ludovicus Podocatharus. This person, a Cypriote by birth, had already played an important part in the chancery under Innocent VIII.; "abbreviator" of the *parcus minor* (1478), bishop of Capaccio (1483), he had, as a physician, become one of the familiars of that pope and had won the confidence of the vice-chancellor Rodrigo Borgia.<sup>8</sup>

It was Podocatharus who ordered the issue of the three bulls: he charged the abbreviator, G.-B. de Ferrariis, to draw up the bull *Inter caetera* of May 3. This abbreviator of the *parcus major* had been one of the most devoted agents of Alexander VI. during the latter's cardinalate. Born about 1445, he was a clerk at Modena in 1462; he became a familiar of Innocent VIII., a scribe and abbreviator assisting the vice-chancellor Rodrigo Borgia in the issue of letters apostolic (before 1491), and notary apostolic (July 17, 1492). He took pains to increase the revenue of the chancery and of the *camera apostolica* by raising the cost of issue of documents. Alexander VI. considered him a "marvellous instrument for drawing money" from new recipients of benefices or of ecclesiastical offices, and rewarded him by making him bishop of Modena (1495) and then giving him the lucrative post of *datarius* (1496), of secretary (1496) and of regent of the chancery (1499), and finally by raising him to the cardinalate (1500) and to the archbishopric of Capua (1501). He ran, it will be perceived,<sup>9</sup> a brilliant career, and

<sup>8</sup> J. Ciampini, *De Abbreviatorum de Parco Majori . . . Antiquo Statu* (Rome, 1691), p. 39; *Anecdota Litteraria ex Manuscriptis Codicibus eruta* [c. 1773], I. 273-314; *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XVIII. 473, 521, 576 (1901); Burckard, *Diarium* (ed. Thuasne), II. 611, 670, appendix, L. Cardella, *Memorie Storiche de' Cardinali* (Rome, 1793), III. 287, describes Podocatharus as secretary of briefs. On November 10, 1492, Pierre d'Aubusson, grand master of the Order of Rhodes, addressed to Podocatharus his congratulations upon the accession of Alexander VI.; in this letter he commends highly the qualities which the secretary had already exhibited, "virtus, prudencia, et litteratura" (V. Lamansky, *Secrets d'État de Venise*, St. Petersburg, 1884, p. 289). In the conclave of 1503 Podocatharus had the suffrages of all the Spanish cardinals. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, VI. 189.

<sup>9</sup> L. Celier, *Les Dataires du XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle et les Origines de la Daterie Apostolique* (fasc. 103 of the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 1910, pp. 59-65). J.-B. de Ferrariis appears among the abbreviators of the *parcus major* on June 5, 1493 (Burckard, ed. Celani, I. 438), and also in 1497, 1498, and 1499 (*ibid.*, II. 38, 113, 149). His name is found in the list of the scribes in 1497, 1498, and 1499 (*ibid.*, II. 37, 110, 151). In 1498 he was also solicitor apostolic (*ibid.*, II. 103). In 1500 he obtained the position of *datarius*, for which, according to the contemporary chronicler Giustiniani (quoted by Celani in his

by 1493 he was an important and influential personage. He was one of the witnesses of the taking of the oath by Cardinal Ascanio Sforza when the latter was installed as vice-chancellor. Thus it is the signature of one of the most important officers of the chancery which we find in the middle of the lower fold of the bull in question, in the place reserved for the abbreviator, that is to say, between the two holes made in the parchment to admit the cords of the seal.

The minute of the bull of May 4 was drawn up by another abbreviator, J. Bufolinus. His name, written in an abbreviated form, has been incorrectly deciphered up to the present time. The scribe of the Bishop of Barcelona, P. Garcia, who provided the *vidimus* of this bull, dated July 19, 1493, wrote *Jo. Lur.*, and this reading has been taken over into the printed cartularies. The abbreviator in question was already in office under Innocent VIII. in 1492;<sup>10</sup> he appears upon the list of June 5, 1493, as well as upon that of 1496.<sup>11</sup> He belonged no doubt to the same family as J. P. de Bufalinis de Castello, who was also an abbreviator of the *parcus major* and scribe apostolic, and who died in 1470.<sup>12</sup> He did not himself sign the bull, but allowed his place to be taken by his colleague A. Santoseverino, whose *paraphe* follows the words "*Pro Jo. Buf.*" on the lower fold of the document. The name of this other abbreviator is found on the various lists of the offices of the *parcus major* from 1493 on.<sup>13</sup>

The minutes, passing to the bureau of the apostolic scribes, were examined first by the chiefs of the latter, the *rescribendarius* and sometimes the accountant (*computator*), in order to fix the tax due to this bureau (this tax was obligatory, as was also that of the abbreviators, even in the case of those bulls which were said to be expedited *gratis*). They wrote upon it their names and the first syllable of the month in which the expediting had begun. Thanks to

edition of Burckard, II. 332, note 1), Alexander VI. "could not easily find his equal". He was poisoned July 20 or 27, 1502, perhaps by his secretary Sebastian Pinzon.

<sup>10</sup> J. Ciampini, *De Abbreviatorum de Parco Majori . . . Antiquo Statu*, p. xiii: Jo. Buffolinus seu Buffolinus.

<sup>11</sup> Burckard (ed. Celani), I. 438, 607: Jo. Bufolinus.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 608, note 2.

<sup>13</sup> The "*paraphe*" of A. Santoseverino has also been read incorrectly. The cartularies copy it as *Consenino*, whereas the text gives *Scō seūino*. Antonio Santoseverino or de Sancto Severino is mentioned among the abbreviators of the *parcus major* in 1493, 1496, 1497, and 1499 (Burckard, ed. Celani, I. 438, 607; II. 38, 113, 149). In 1498 he is also found among the *sollicitatores* (*ibid.*, II. 103). He was doubtless the son of Giambattista Caccialupi de Sancto Severino, jurisconsult of Siena, who exercised the functions of consistorial advocate from 1486 to his death in 1496 (*ibid.*, I. 177, note 1, 380, 447, note 1).

the papal registers, we know the indications which were placed upon the drafts of the three bulls. They were as follows:

<i>Inter caetera</i> , May 3.	<i>Eximiae</i> , May 3.	<i>Inter caetera</i> , May 4.
Gratis de mandato..... ap[ri]l[i] B. Capotius D. Serrano <sup>14</sup>	Gratis de mandato s. d. n. pape jul[i]o J. Nilis	Gratis de mandato s. d. n. pape jun[i]o pro R[escribenda]rio <sup>15</sup> A. de Mucciarellis]

The *rescribendarius* being appointed for a period of three months, it can be seen that the one who had been designated for the second quarter of the year 1493 was B. Capotius. He is mentioned as still among the apostolic scribes on June 5 of this year. But the diary of Burckard informs us that he was ill at this time and for this reason could not furnish the chamberlain with the list of pontifical scribes, nor take part, the next day, in a procession in which it would have been his duty to represent their corporation.<sup>16</sup> It will be perceived that he was absent when the draft of the bull of May 4 reached the bureau of the scribes and that his place was taken by A. de Mucciarellis, one of the eldest of their number. The latter had already exercised the functions of *rescribendarius* under similar circumstances in September, 1489.<sup>17</sup> As he on that occasion performed these duties until the end of the month, it is probable that the same was done in 1493 and that consequently he signed the other bulls of the month of June. At any rate he signed that of June 25, appointing Friar Buil as missionary.<sup>18</sup> For the third quarter of the year a new *rescribendarius* was elected and, in fact, we see on the bull *Eximiae* (May 3), the expediting of which began in the month

<sup>14</sup> Didacus Serrano is the accountant. He appears as scribe and solicitor apostolic in 1493, 1497, 1498, and 1499 (Burckard, ed. Celani, I. 430, 436, 610; II. 36, 104, 111, 115, 145, 150).

<sup>15</sup> Hitherto the reading has been, erroneously, *Registerio* or *Reverendissimo*.

<sup>16</sup> Baptistas Capotius or de Capotiis came from Viterbo, as is shown by a document of 1475, cited by Celani in his edition of Burckard (I. 439, note 2). He is not mentioned in the list of papal scribes subsequent to June 5, 1493 (*ibid.*, p. 436). He has been confounded with Bernardinus Capocius, or Capacius, clerk of Siena (*ibid.*, II. 380), who became auditor and then *datarius* under Pius III. (Sigism. Titii "Historiarum Senensium", in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, XXXII. 119).

<sup>17</sup> "Antonius de Mucciarellis fecit pro eo [Franc. de Suno] officium rescribendariatus taxando et signando bullas more solito, qui et post obitum ejusdem abque alia deputatione officium hujusmodi usque ad finem hujus mensis septembris continuavit" (Burckard, ed. Celani, I. 276). A. de Mucciarellis, a native of Bologna, is mentioned as apostolic scribe in 1487 (*ibid.*, p. 203). In June, 1493, he himself, in lieu of the *rescribendarius*, drew up the list of his colleagues (*ibid.*, p. 436). He appears also in the lists of 1497, 1498, and 1499, in which last year he is listed as *decanus et senior* (*ibid.*, II. 35, 110, 150).

<sup>18</sup> This bull of June 25, 1493, copied into the papal registers, is reproduced by Heywood, *Documenta Selecta*, pp. 27-32.



of July, the name of another scribe, J. Nilis. This appears also on the bull of September 26.<sup>19</sup>

It has been made plain that the bulls were taxed and issued at considerable intervals; the first bull *Inter caetera* (May 3) belongs to the month of April, the second *Inter caetera* (May 4) to June, and the bull *Eximiae* (May 3) to July. If then, instead of arranging the bulls in accordance with their formal dates, we arrange them in the order of their expediting, the bull *Eximiae* should be placed last.

Before being sent to their destination, the bulls had to be registered and collated, additional causes of delay. In the registers they appear in the order of their expediting.<sup>20</sup> From calculations which have been made, it appears that the expediting of a bull took at least twelve days. In urgent cases a whole month elapsed between the sending of instructions from Spain and the arrival in that country of the bull requested.<sup>21</sup> These new chronological data will permit us to place more exactly the other diplomatic and narrative sources which relate to the pretensions of the Spanish sovereign and to the attitude of the Holy See toward Spain and Portugal. We have henceforth a solid basis for studying the contents of the

<sup>19</sup> Copy of the bull of September 26, in the cartulary of Columbus at Washington; I owe this detail to the obliging kindness of Miss Frances G. Davenport. Giovanni Nilis was both scribe and abbreviator apostolic during the years 1493, 1497, and 1498 (Burckard, ed. Celani, I. 435, 437, 608; II. 34, 36, 109, 111, 149, 151). The same cartulary gives the name P. Gormaz after that of J. Nilis. He was no doubt accountant of the office of the scribes for the month of September. He appears in the list of the scribes in 1493 (*ibid.*, I. 438). He was a canon of Saragossa, and in 1498 became bishop of Narni.

<sup>20</sup> The bull *Inter caetera* of May 3 is found in register 775, fol. 42 vo.; the bull *Inter caetera* of May 4, in register 777, fol. 192 vo.; and the bull *Eximiae* (May 3), in register 879, fol. 234. The first bull *Inter caetera* was registered by Nicolas de Casanova, scribe apostolic (Burckard, ed. Celani, I. 437), and collated by Aloisius de Campania, who appears as notary of the apostolic chamber in 1490 (A. Gottlob, *Aus der Camera Apostolica des 15. Jahrhunderts*, 1889, p. 175), and in 1500 (Burckard, ed. Celani, II. 235). He was also collector of the *plumbaria* from 1486 on (P. M. Baumgarten, *Aus Kanzlei und Kammer*, Freiburg i. B., 1907, p. 351), and Burckard mentions him as such in 1493 and 1497 (*ibid.*, I., 429; II. 26). The other two bulls were registered by Dominicus Gallettus, scribe, solicitor, and secretary apostolic (*ibid.*, I. 430, 437, 610; II. 36, 111, 150, 304, 305). The second bull *Inter caetera* was collated by the notary L. Amerinus, whose service was prolonged into the pontificate of Leo X. (see the registers of that pope, ed. Hergenröther, nos. 118, 124, 150). Finally, the bull *Eximiae* was collated by Giovanni Ebu of Viterbo, bishop of Cotrone and papal secretary (Sigismundo de' Conti, *Le Storie de' suoi Tempi*, l. IX., t. II., p. 40; Burckard, ed. Celani, I. 649; A. Gottlob, *Aus der Camera Apostolica des 15. Jahrhunderts*, 1889, p. 187, note 2).

<sup>21</sup> Thus the bull of June 25 designating Friar Buil as missionary, requested on June 7, reached Spain before July 25 (*Bol. Acad. de la Historia*, Madrid, XIX. 185; Navarrete, *Colección de los Viages*, II. 77).

bulls themselves, and for comparing their different forms in the light of other contemporary documents.

In the first place, we may now follow with security the route pursued by the first bull *Inter caetera* after its expediting. It is this bull and not—as has hitherto been supposed—the second bull beginning with the same preamble, which was sent by Podocatharus on May 17, 1493, to the nuncio at the court of Spain.<sup>22</sup> Therefore it could not have been delivered to those for whom it was intended till in the last third of that month. Consequently, it could not have been till the end of May or till June that the Spanish sovereigns addressed to their ambassadors in Rome the instructions necessary for obtaining a new bull intended to replace the first. That second document was expedited, we have perceived, in the month of June and reached Spain before July 19, for on that date a notary, secretary to the Bishop of Seville, delivered a *vidimus* of it, dated at Barcelona.<sup>23</sup>

The different bulls are addressed solely to Ferdinand and Isabella, kings of Castile, Leon, Aragon, and Granada; the intitulation of the bull of May 4 also reads, after Aragon, “of Sicily”.

If the two bulls *Inter caetera* are compared, it appears that their preambles are identical; they treat, as does one of the analogous bulls granted to the kings of Portugal, the theme of the extension of the faith in barbarous lands. The bull *Eximiae* has a shorter preamble, but it relates to the same subject. In the bull of September 26 (*Dudum siquidem*) the intitulation is followed immediately by the narration.

The “narrations” of the two bulls *Inter caetera* present remarkable differences. While the first recites the discovery of “lands and islands remote and unknown in the western regions, said to be toward the Indies, in the Ocean Sea”, a discovery due to Christopher Columbus, the second insists upon the fact that there is question of “continental lands” discovered beyond the ocean and adds flattering terms to the name of Columbus—a man absolutely worthy, and highly to be recommended, and capable of executing an enterprise of such magnitude. We shall see that this addition was probably made at the request of Columbus himself. As to the narrations

<sup>22</sup> The letter of Podocatharus to the nuncio in Spain, François de Sprats (May 17, 1493), is given in [H. Harrissel], *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima, Additions* (Paris, 1872), p. 2, note 2.

<sup>23</sup> The cartularies of Columbus reproduced these *vidimus*; see, e.g., that of Paris (B. F. Stevens, *Christopher Columbus: his own Book of Privileges*, 1502, London, 1893, fols. 182–197).

of the bulls *Eximiae* and *Dudum siquidem*; they recall respectively the grants made by the two bulls *Inter caetera*.

Let us examine separately the "dispositions" of the two bulls *Inter caetera*. By that of May 3, the pope, in the plenitude of his apostolic authority, grants to the Spanish sovereigns the lands and islands discovered in the west, toward the Indies in the Ocean Sea, as well as those yet to be discovered in that direction, provided they do not already belong to any Christian prince, and forbids all persons to approach them for commerce or for other purposes without authorization from these sovereigns. It provides that, in these regions, those sovereigns shall exercise the same rights as those previously granted by the Holy See to the kings of Portugal in the lands discovered for these princes, in Africa, in Guinea, at Elmina, and elsewhere. The bull of May 4 grants the islands and continental lands (*terras firmas*) discovered or to be discovered, not solely in the west, but also in the south, and as well in the direction of India as in all other regions. It establishes a line of demarcation not to be passed by the subjects of other princes without authorization from the Spanish sovereigns. That line of demarcation is placed, in strange phraseology, at one hundred leagues "to the west and to the south" of the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands. It is designated in the same terms at the end of the disposition. This expression, "to the west and to the south", was without doubt substituted for the words "to the west and in the Ocean Sea", as anyone may convince himself by comparing those passages in the other bulls which indicate the direction of the discoveries and, especially, that in the bull of June 25, designating Friar Buil as missionary. This last, in fact, expedited at the same period as the bull *Inter caetera* of May 4, contains the words "versus partes occidentales et Mare oceanum". The same expression is also found in the bull *Eximiae*. At that period it was customary to locate the Ocean Sea toward the south of our hemisphere, around the equatorial zone. Beyond extended the "Southern Indies" (*Indiae Meridionales*), an expression subsequently applied to South America. At bottom then, the transformation of "Mare oceanum" into "meridiem" is not so violent as one might at first suppose; it indicates more precisely the direction which Columbus intended to follow in his second voyage, but it has introduced into the text of the bull the contradiction already often signalized. As to the position of the Azores, with reference to the Cape Verde Islands, it has already been rightly remarked that the easternmost of the Azores is traversed by the same meridian as the westernmost of the Cape Verde Islands.

The mention of rights analogous to those enjoyed by the King of

Portugal in his possessions is not repeated in the bull *Inter caetera* of May 4. It forms the main object of the bull *Eximiae* (May 3), expedited as we have seen in July. The text of the latter resembles those of the two bulls *Inter caetera*.<sup>24</sup>

As to the bull of September 26, it amplifies that of May 4 by extending the sphere of influence of Spain not only into the western and southern regions but also into those of the East and of the Indies and provides, as does its predecessor, that the discoveries shall be made to the westward and the southward (*versus occidentem et meridiem*). No mention is made of the line of demarcation, but it does not follow, as H. Harrisse thought, that it was suppressed. On the contrary, this bull in fact confirms all the dispositions made in the preceding bulls and merely amplifies and extends them.<sup>25</sup> In any case, the fact that the line in question is not mentioned on this occasion proves that this line had not the original importance which has been subsequently attributed to it.

As in other documents of this sort, the different bulls contain derogative clauses. These are especially developed in the bull of September 26; they declare that all the grants previously made, "whether to kings, to princes, to infantes, to religious or to military orders", respecting the regions, seas, islands, or lands in question, are revoked, whatever may have been the motives of these donations (piety, extension of the faith, or redemption of captives) and despite the most rigorous clauses inserted in these grants, unless in cases when these grants have been put into effect and when, in consequence, actual and effective possession has been taken. It is expressly provided—a curious fact—that previous possession shall not in itself constitute a title.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> The bull *Eximiae devotionis*, dated May 3, but expedited in July, reproduces especially the text of the bull *Inter caetera* bearing the same date, to which indeed it relates; yet on the other hand the expressions *terras firmas* and *versus partes occidentales et mare Oceanum* bring it into close relation with the bull of May 4.

<sup>25</sup> H. Harrisse, *The Diplomatic History of America*, p. 68, is mistaken in saying that "by this Bull . . . the Line of Demarcation [was] virtually superseded". The bull confirms the previous bulls in these terms: "Donationem, concessionem, assignationem et litteras praedictas, cum omnibus et singulis in eisdem litteris contentis clausulis, ad omnes et singulas insulas et terras firmas inventas et inveniendas . . . quae navigando aut itinerando versus occidentem aut meridiem hujusmodi sint vel fuerint aut apparuerint sive in partibus occidentalibus vel meridionalibus et orientalibus et Indiae existant . . . perinde ac si in litteris praedictis de eis plena et expressa mentio facta fuisset, extendimus pariter et ampliamus." Solorzano, *De Indiarum Jure*, 1629, I. 613.

<sup>26</sup> "Quae suum per actuaalem et realem possessionem non essent sortitae effectum, licet forsitan aliquando illi quibus donationes et concessionem hujusmodi factae fuissent, aut eorum nuntii, ibidem navigassent". Solorzano, I. 613.



Finally, in the first three bulls, the date is still preceded by the customary formulae relative to the mode of promulgation and to the penalties incurred by those committing infractions. In the bull of September 26, the formula of promulgation is lacking, but the penal clauses are to be found in the "disposition".

As has been seen, the four bulls belong to the same category of papal acts. They do not belong to the class of great and solemn bulls presented in consistory and therefore having the name of consistorial bulls. Drawn up in the form of letters, they have the name of briefs; it is thus that the pontifical secretary Podocatharus designates the bull *Inter caetera* of May 3.<sup>27</sup> But these briefs are provided with the *bullae*; they are, then, *brevia bullata*.

To sum up, no one of these different bulls has the appearance of an arbitral decision. They are acts of papal sovereignty, in favor of a single power. They are essentially grants, as one sees by running through the series of designations given to these acts by the documents themselves. We may remark in passing that the bull *Inter caetera* of May 4 omitted the term *investitura* as well as in the "disposition" the word *investimus*—words which were found in the *Inter caetera* of May 3—in order not to give ground for supposing that a feudal investiture was contemplated.

It might be objected that, if these acts have not the form of an arbitral decision, they may yet have been the result of a more or less active intervention of the sovereign pontiff in the colonial politics of Portugal and Spain in order to harmonize their interests and maintain peace. To determine the matter, it is necessary to inquire under what conditions the bulls were issued and how their texts were put into shape.

At the moment when Columbus was undertaking the exploration of the Atlantic, the Spanish sovereigns had renounced for the benefit of Portugal all colonial expansion "beyond or on this side of the Canaries over against Guinea". Sixtus IV. (1481) had confirmed this treaty as well as the bulls granted to the Portuguese by Nicholas V. and Calixtus III. The same pope had assured to the Portuguese the discoveries which should be made in Guinea and beyond in the direction of these "southern regions", sanctioning thus the bulls of his predecessors, notably that which Nicholas V.

<sup>27</sup> "Breve super concessione domini et bonarum illarum insularum nuper ab hominibus Regiis inventarum . . .". Letter of May 17, 1493, to the Spanish sovereigns; [H. Harrisse], *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima, Additions* (Paris, 1872), p. 2, note 2.

(1454) issued in consequence of the Portuguese discoveries "in the Ocean Sea toward the regions lying southward and eastward".<sup>28</sup>

Out in the Atlantic the maps of the period place the mysterious island Antilia or Island of the Seven Cities. In 1475 and in 1486 the King of Portugal had granted it, together with neighboring islands and lands, to F. Telles and to Dulmo respectively.<sup>29</sup> He considered the "Ocean Sea" as his domain, imagining, as did all his contemporaries, that it lay chiefly in the equatorial zone.

On the return from his first voyage Columbus, as is well known, landed in Portugal. King John II., declaring that he had operated in "the seas and limits of his lordship of Guinea", had the discoverer brought before him (about March 6, 1493) and Columbus declared to him that he was returning from "Cypangu and Antilia", islands which formed the approaches to India.<sup>30</sup> Shortly after, Peter Martyr, the Italian humanist, chaplain of Isabella, spoke of the "western Antipodes" discovered by Christopher Columbus in contrast to the "southern Antipodes", toward which the Portuguese navigators sailed. But it was believed that the chief transoceanic lands lay in the southern hemisphere, balancing thus the Eurasian continent. Zurita, chronicler of Aragon under Charles V. and Philip II., alludes to the fact that the ancients represented this southern world in the form of islands, large and small, separated by great distances.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> The bull of Nicholas V., January 8, 1454, confirms the Portuguese acquisitions "versus meridionales et orientales plagas . . . usque ad Indos qui Christi nomen colere dicuntur" (*Alguns Documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo*, etc., Lisbon, 1892, pp. 15-16). The bull of Sixtus IV., June 21, 1481, confirming the previous bulls and the treaty of Alcaçovas between Portugal and Spain, is found in the same collection, pp. 46-53.

<sup>29</sup> *Alguns Documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo*, pp. 40, 58. The act of 1486 in favor of Dulmo is particularly interesting in that it grants "a large island, islands, or continent, which is presumed to be the Island of the Seven Cities". This passage should be compared with that of Zurita, relating to the discoveries of Columbus (Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando*, 1610, fol. 17), where mention is made of a great island or of numerous smaller islands.

<sup>30</sup> H. Vignaud, *Histoire Critique de la Grande Entreprise de Christophe Colomb* (Paris, 1911), I. 371, lays stress upon the fact that Ruy de Pina indicates Cypangu and Antilia as being the islands from which Columbus was returning. Columbus, however, like all his contemporaries, placed the island of Cypangu at the east of the Indies, in the "sea of the Indies". Therefore I believe that I may repeat the assertion of my collaborator De Lannoy that Columbus believed that he had reached the eastern extremity of the Indies (De Lannoy and Vander Linden, *Histoire de l'Expansion Coloniale des Peuples Européens: Portugal et Espagne*, Brussels, 1907, pp. 51, 278), an assertion which Mr. Vignaud (I. 376, note 28) believes to be untenable.

<sup>31</sup> See note 29.

John II. went to Torres Vedras to pass Easter (April 7). Two days before, he sent to the court of Spain the *alcalde mayor* of that town, Ruy de Sande, to ascertain whether Columbus intended to pursue his discoveries to the south, or would confine his enterprises to the west. But this envoy did not arrive till after the departure from Barcelona (April 22) of the Spanish ambassador charged to announce to the King of Portugal the discovery, on behalf of the Spanish sovereigns, of the islands and continents situated in the direction of the Indies.<sup>32</sup>

Ferdinand and Isabella had not waited till this time to obtain from the sovereign pontiff a monopoly of the discoveries and the right of commercial exploitation in the Oceanic Sea and in the islands of the Indies. As early as March 30, they had addressed their congratulations to Columbus, "Admiral of the Ocean Sea and viceroy and governor of the islands discovered in the Indies".<sup>33</sup> They no doubt hastened to address to their agents or permanent ambassadors at the court of Rome the instructions necessary to enable the latter to assert title as soon as possible, over against the claims which would without question be asserted by the King of Portugal.

The reception which the Curia would give to this demand could not fail to be most favorable. The many bonds which attached Alexander VI. to Spain during the first years of his pontificate are well known, as also the care with which he strove then to maintain them in spite of all sorts of difficulties. Though he had not lived long in his native country he had remained a true Aragonese, and had constantly surrounded himself by compatriots and by other Spaniards in the course of his cardinalate. Legate *a latere* from 1471 to 1473 and in 1480, he had rendered notable services to his sovereign, and the latter had requited them by favors perhaps still greater. Ferdinand had permitted Rodrigo Borgia to add to the bishopric of Valencia those of Cartagena (1482) and Majorca (1489). He had invested his oldest son, Pedro Luis, with the duchy of Gandia, near Valencia, and had thus made the latter one of the most important members of the Aragonese nobility (1485). He had even promised him his own cousin-german, Doña Maria Enriquez, in marriage. When Ferdinand legitimized Caesar Borgia (1481) he declared that he owed to the latter's father the deepest gratitude. He could not do otherwise than favor the nomination of Caesar to the bishopric of Pampeluna (1491) and then to that of Valencia after the accession of Rodrigo Borgia to the throne of St.

<sup>32</sup> Zurita, fol. 30 ro. and vo.

<sup>33</sup> Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes*, II. 21.

Peter.<sup>34</sup> Alexander VI. entrusted the custody of the castle of Sant' Angelo to a Spaniard, Juan de Castro, bishop of Girgenti, and took for his confessor another Spaniard, the Carmelite Baltasar Gracian de Villanova.<sup>35</sup>

An upholder of Spanish-Neapolitan policy during his cardinalate, Alexander VI. treated it with solicitude at the beginning of his pontificate, and was able to derive from his relations with the Spanish sovereigns valuable advantages for his family. As is well known, he sacrificed everything, both spiritual and temporal interests, to his children; in the first place to Juan, whose fortunes and influence depended entirely upon the prosperity and strength of Spain. The death of Pedro Luis, duke of Gandia, had caused that duchy in 1488 to pass to Juan, for whom the pope obtained the hand of Doña Maria Enriquez, fiancée of the deceased (August, 1493).

Meanwhile, however, Alexander VI. allowed himself to be drawn away by Cardinal Ascanio, to whom he owed the tiara, toward the Milano-Venetian alliance, hostile to the King of Naples and favorable to France. Ascanio Sforza, brother of Ludovico il Moro, after becoming vice-chancellor exercised for some time a considerable ascendancy over the pope, and so caused him to attach himself to that alliance, represented as intended to insure the peace of Italy (April 25).

It was just at this time that the Spanish sovereigns requested the bull of donation of the islands recently discovered. To secure their pardon, so to speak, for his equivocal course, Alexander VI. took pains to give them satisfaction and at the same time to address to them a formal document attested by a notary (*instrumentum publicum*), by which he declared that he "desired that even his allies should preserve entire and inviolable the bond which united him to these sovereigns, and this under all circumstances whatever". He also informed Ferdinand and Isabella of the conditions of the alliance which he had concluded with Milan and Venice, and made his excuses for not having offered his mediation between Spain and France by declaring that he had supposed peace to have been concluded by the restoration of Perpignan and Roussillon to the first of these powers. Finally he sent them, by the hand of the same nuncio, the correspondence exchanged between the Emperor and the

<sup>34</sup> On Alexander VI., one may consult with profit, besides L. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vols. V. and VI., the works of W. H. Woodward, *Cesare Borgia* (London, 1913); M. de Maulde la Clavière, *Histoire de Louis XII.*, première partie (Paris, 1890), II. 302-320; and L. Thuasne, *Djem-Sultan* (Paris, 1892), pp. 304-319.

<sup>35</sup> *Lettres de Charles VIII.* (ed. Pélicier), IV. 28.



King of France relating to a plan of peace. The pope visibly exerts himself to please the monarchs to whom he was soon about to grant the title of "Catholic", and informs them of his whole policy. The conclusion of the letter which Podocatharus addresses in his name to the nuncio in Spain contains this interesting recommendation: "Moreover tell them distinctly with what care we lay ourselves out to satisfy them in all things and to furnish to all the world proofs of the paternal affection we have for them".<sup>36</sup>

Evidently then Alexander VI. could refuse nothing to Ferdinand and Isabella; eager to give them evidences of his good-will he did not hesitate to comply entirely with their request relative to the discoveries made by Columbus, without examining whether their claim menaced the rights of other sovereigns or not.<sup>37</sup> He was to continue in this attitude of favor until the time when he came under the influence of his son, Caesar, that is to say, after the death of Juan, duke of Gandia (1497).

The question has often been discussed, whether Ferdinand and Isabella needed a papal grant in order to acquire the sovereignty of lands discovered by one of their agents. This question directly depends upon that of the nature of the papal power, and opinions relating to the latter vary according to place and time. By the terms of the bull itself, the pope disposed, in favor of the Spanish monarchs, of the temporal sovereignty (*dominium*) of lands discovered or to be discovered in a certain region.

While the Catholic sovereigns clearly held at that time that they had in temporal matters no superior within their own dominions, including all lands of which they had made effective acquisition,<sup>38</sup> the bulls in question were titles to future discoveries, and were de-

<sup>36</sup> "Et insuper significabis quanto affectu omnibus in rebus eis satisfacere et in se paternam Charitatem nostram apud omnes testatam relinquere studeamus", May 17, 1493. [H. Harrisse], *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima, Additions*, p. 3, note 2. By the same letter the pope acknowledged the receipt of the letters patent of the Spanish sovereigns in favor of Bernard de Villamari (doubtless the famous corsair Villamarin), whose arrival in Italy he expected and whom the Duke of Gandia was impatient to meet.

<sup>37</sup> Some writers affirm that the relations between Alexander VI. and the Spanish sovereigns were far from cordial at this time, citing a passage of Burckard describing the consistory held at the time when the Spanish ambassador Diego Lopez de Haro made his obedience. But this passage is an interpolation, derived from the diary of Infessura, which must be treated with caution. E. Nys also cites, in support of his opinion, certain unamiable words of the pope regarding Isabella (M. Sanuto, *Diarii*, II., col. 385), but these words relate to the year 1499.

<sup>38</sup> Grant to Columbus of permission to found a *majorat*, April 23, 1497: "no reconocientes superior en lo temporal". Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes*, II. 222.

signed to repeal bulls which previous popes had promulgated in favor of the kings of Portugal. Proof that Ferdinand and Isabella attached a great value to them is seen in their anxiety that the things which they desired should be incorporated in them, and also in the revisions to which, as we shall see, they subsequently caused them to be subjected.

Before the end of May, negotiations had begun between John II. and the Spanish monarchs. They were conducted with peaceful intentions on both sides. In the course of them, Ferdinand and Isabella obtained a fuller knowledge of the extent of the claims made by the Portuguese king, and of his intention to reserve to himself discoveries made toward the south and the Ocean Sea. Thereupon the dispositions made by the bull of May 3 became inadequate, for Columbus counted with certainty, as we have seen, upon making new expeditions, and first of all toward the south. He was urgent that this bull should be replaced by another, containing a new stipulation with respect to the maritime and colonial dominion of Spain. The Spanish monarchs desired to include in that dominion the whole Atlantic, as is proved by the confirmation of privileges which was granted to Columbus on May 28: "This sea", they say, "belongs to us to the west of a line passing through the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands and extending from north to south, from pole to pole".<sup>39</sup> It is manifest with what insistence they claim the Ocean Sea in both hemispheres. Columbus however suggested that the line should be set further to the west, a hundred leagues from the Portuguese islands in question. That fact is explicitly shown in a letter which the sovereigns addressed to him later (September 5) and which reports a rumor that had been spread of the existence of very rich lands between that line and the southern part of Africa, lands of which they feared that they might be deprived in virtue of the terms of the bull already amended.<sup>40</sup> The text of the latter

<sup>39</sup> Navarrete, *Colección de los Viages*, II. 60: "... mar Océano, que es nuestro, que comienza por una raya ó línea que Nos habemos fecho marcar, que pasa desde las islas de los Azores á las islas de Cabo Verde, de Septentrion en Austro, de polo á polo; por manera que todo lo que es allende de la dicha línea al Occidente, es nuestro é nos pertenece".

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 109: "... algunos quieren decir que lo que está en medio desde la punta que los Portugueses llaman de Buena Esperanza, que está en la rota que agora ellos llevan por la Mina del Oro é Guinea abajo fasta la raya que vos dijistes que debia venir en la Bula del Papa piensan que podrá haber Islas y aun Tierra firma, que segun en la parte del sol que está se cree que serán muy provechosas y mas ricas que todas las otras". Up to this time *debía* had been interpreted as "should be"; now evidently the line referred to is that which, according to Columbus, was to be in the bull. Then it was indicated therein. Furthermore, the sovereigns say to Columbus, at a later point, that if he finds it necessary the bull will be modified: "se enmiende la Bula".

must have been drawn up during the month of June and sent then to the Spanish agents at the court of Rome. The determination of Columbus to operate in the south of the Ocean Sea as well as in the west gave rise to the repetition of the words "toward the west and the south" which determined in so strange a fashion the position of the boundary in the ocean between the Spanish and the Portuguese dominions.<sup>41</sup>

It was, then, at the instance of Columbus that the line of demarcation was mentioned in the papal document. Was he himself the author of that line, and if so on what basis did he select it? It does not appear to have been suggested to him by his sovereigns. The instructions which they gave him at the beginning of September, 1493, and a little earlier, with a view to his second voyage, were merely that he should sail as far as possible from the Portuguese possessions. On the other hand, everything leads us to believe that both the papal chancery and the pope himself were entirely strangers to the establishment of this line. If they did not take the initiative in the case of any of the essential stipulations contained in the bulls in question, why should they have done so in precisely that one which concerns the delimitation of the two colonial domains, so advantageous to Spain?

The supposition of Alexander von Humboldt<sup>42</sup> attributing to Columbus the authorship of the line of demarcation appears accordingly very plausible, and in the present state of the sources, practically certain. Whether Columbus, in establishing the line, was guided by facts of physical geography observed in the course of his first voyage—changes in the stars, the aspect of the sea, the temperature, the variation of the compass and the like—drawing inferences from these as to the beginning of the Orient and the end of the Occident, may be doubted, but it is no longer possible to deny him an essential part in the planning of the famous line of demarcation.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Among other evidences this determination may be perceived in the tract of N. Syllacius, *De Insulis Meridiani atque Indici Maris nuper inventis* [1494-1495] (New York, 1859), p. 90: "Quorum opera hispanorum regna auguste aucta: terrae incognitae deprehensae: innumerabiles gentes receptae: quae ad austrum pertinebant extimae, ultra aequatoris metas et signiferi fervores. . . .".

<sup>42</sup> Humboldt, *Examen Critique de l'Histoire de la Géographie du Nouveau Continent* (Paris, 1814-1834), p. 251 ff.; Navarrete, *Colección de los Viages*, II. 226, 254; Oviedo, lib. II., c. XI.

<sup>43</sup> H. Harrisse, *The Diplomatic History of America*, p. 172, note 72, cites the mention in a letter of Duarte d'Almeida to the King of Portugal of the "livro do Almirante das Indias, que fizera de Don Chr. Colón, seu pay das demarcações dos mares e terras de Vossa Altezza cos de Castilla" (from *Raccolta Colombiana*, Desimoni, *Quistioni Colombiane*, p. 78). This book is perhaps that which Colum-

The present sources do not permit us to discover with certainty why the bull of May 4 and the bull *Eximiae* of May 3 were ante-dated. That of May 4 did not arrive in Spain until the middle of July. On the 19th of that month the first *vidimus* of this document was drawn up, and on August 4 the sovereigns sent this *vidimus* to Columbus with a letter in which they said,

You know that we have applied to Rome for a bull respecting the islands and land which you have discovered and which remain to be discovered. It has come to us today, and we send you an authentic copy of it to publish, so that all the world may know that no one can enter into these regions without authorization from us. Take it with you, that you may be able to show it in every land.<sup>44</sup>

We do not enter now into the history of those diplomatic negotiations between Spain and Portugal, which, beginning on August 18, 1493, resulted in the treaty of Tordesillas (June 7, 1494). Early in the course of those negotiations the Spanish sovereigns, in a letter of September 5, addressed to Columbus, asked his advice as to whether it was not necessary to modify the "bull"—evidently that of May 4. His reply was no doubt affirmative. Such a modification might be brought about through a simple additional and amplifying bull. Columbus intended to pursue his discoveries to the very Orient itself, where the Portuguese hoped to arrive soon. He wished to plant the standard of Castile in the eastern as well as in the southern Indies and it was no doubt for this reason that he requested the papal ratification of the Spanish monopoly of conquests beyond the sea, by way of the west, in all regions not occupied by Christians, especially in the Orient and in the Indies.<sup>45</sup> The bull, dated September 26, revoked, it will be recalled, all contrary dispositions in previous bulls granted to kings, princes, infantes, or re-

bus had left at Barcelona at the time of the visit which he made to the sovereigns there in the month of May, and of which he asked for a copy. Reference is made to it in a letter which the sovereigns addressed to him on June 1 (Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes*, II. 72).

<sup>44</sup> Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes*, II. 90.

<sup>45</sup> See note 25. In the "narration" of this bull there is mention already of these "partes orientales" and of the islands and continents "quae inde fuissent vel essent", that is to say, of India. These words were translated exactly in Spanish by the secretary Gracian, August 30, 1534 (Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes*, II. 404), but Dawson has been led into error by the fact that *inde* was printed without a capital letter (appendix to his article in the *Proceedings of the Royal Historical Society of Canada*, 1899, sec. II., p. 467). It was by reliance upon this bull of September 26 that Ferdinand Columbus in 1534 drew up a declaration asserting the rights of Spain over all the Orient from the Cape of Good Hope eastward. (Altolaguirre, *Cristóbal Colón y Pablo del Pozzo Toscanelli*, Madrid, 1903, pp. 280-281.)

ligious or military orders (this stipulation is evidently directed at Portugal), even when granted for motives of piety, the spread of the gospel, or the ransom of captives. It also gave expression to the principle that the possession of territories, to be valid, must be effective; but its chief object was to secure to Spain access to the Orient, where it was customary to locate India properly so called. The position of India is however not clearly defined in the papal document; it names it at first in connection with the "oriental regions", and then after a mention of these regions.

That the King of Portugal did not succeed in preventing so considerable an extension of the sphere of influence of Spain must probably be attributed to the fact that at this time he was making it the chief objective of his policy to procure that his natural son, Dom Jorge, should be recognized as his heir presumptive to the prejudice of his brother Manoel, and to obtain for him the hand of a Spanish infanta.

The decision of the Spanish and Portuguese ambassadors that the line of demarcation should be set at a point 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands differing considerably from that set forth in the bull of May 4, 1493, the contracting parties agreed to insert in the treaty of Tordesillas a clause stipulating that the papal confirmation should be sought; but that no papal *motu proprio* should dispense either one of the two parties from observing the convention. The maintenance of the treaties was thus guaranteed against the arbitrary action of the *plenitudo potestatis* of the sovereign pontiff. The confirmation of the treaty was not obtained under the pontificate of Alexander VI., nor until January 24, 1506.

The other European states bordering on the Atlantic, contrary to what has generally been believed, made no account of the bulls issued in favor of the first two colonial powers. Their phrases were considered as infringing upon royal sovereignty; the expressions *motu proprio* and *plenitudo potestatis*, as well as the derogative clauses, were refused allowance in France as threatening the liberties of the Gallican Church. The kings of France, like those of England,<sup>46</sup> whose line of conduct with respect to the pope they had imitated, did not recognize the supreme jurisdiction of the Holy See even in ecclesiastical matters; naturally they were still less disposed to recognize it in temporal affairs.

<sup>46</sup> The Church of England was independent in fact before the theologians of Paris had formulated the principles of freedom of the Gallican church. J. Haller, *Papsttum und Kirchenreform* (Berlin, 1903), I., who recalls the words of Froissart: "Engleterre est la terre le mieulz gardée dou monde". On the prohibition of the formula *motu proprio* in France, see Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatie*, p. 703.

To sum up, then, the bull of demarcation, like the other bulls delivered to Spain in 1493, constituted at first a grant exclusively Spanish; it was in large part, if not wholly, shaped by the chancery of Ferdinand and Isabella; the line of demarcation itself, which played so important a part in subsequent transactions, had been suggested and probably first devised by Christopher Columbus. Moreover, the different bulls of that year were but successive increments of the favors granted to the Spanish sovereigns, Alexander VI. being at that time but an instrument in their hands. Friction with Portugal was increased rather than diminished by the granting of these bulls. Far from recognizing the prior rights of that country in the Atlantic, the Holy See restricted them more and more, in the interest of Spain. The difficulties between the two powers were smoothed away by their own diplomatic means and Portugal distinctly repudiated the incidental arbitration of the pope or of any other authority. If later she relied upon the bull of demarcation, it was because new circumstances brought her into that attitude, for the force of a diplomatic document arises less from the conditions under which it has been shaped than from the events with which it is subsequently associated and which usually modify its range of application.

H. VANDER LINDEN.



## SWISS EMIGRATION TO THE AMERICAN COLONIES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE many thousands of Swiss colonists who came to America in the eighteenth century directed their course mainly to Pennsylvania and Carolina, which they commonly believed to be parts of the West India Islands. Two colonies were founded under Swiss leadership, one in 1710 at New Bern, North Carolina, under Christoph von Graffenried, the other in 1732 at Purrysburgh, South Carolina, promoted by Jean Pierre Purry of Neuchâtel. These colonies encountered all the hardships of pioneer settlements, extremes of heat and cold, fevers incident to the breaking of new ground, hostility of the natives, deficiencies in material equipment. Emigrants of the eighteenth century, before their arrival in the land of hope, had to endure the perils of the sea for months with slight protection and provision, they faced at best a decimation of their numbers on the crowded ships that conveyed them across, they were too often the victims of fraudulent captains and agents, who robbed them and sold them into servitude. All these trials and difficulties were borne and overcome by the early Swiss in common with all other sturdy and heroic pioneers of the eighteenth century.

But there is something distinctive about the emigration from Switzerland and that greater area of eighteenth-century emigration, the Palatinate and the upper Rhine country, the story of which has not been told. This is a record of hardship and obstruction at home, of barriers placed in the way of the emigrant by governments, of social ostracism, and of deprivation of all his rights and privileges. The home governments feared the loss of their people by emigration as much as they might by war or pestilence, and employed all means in their power to prevent it. For a study of this subject the materials found in the Swiss archives seem to be richer than those that have survived in the archives of the Palatinate and southern Germany, where in the eighteenth century the same policy prevailed of restricting, and if possible prohibiting, emigration. Conditions in Switzerland, therefore, may be assumed to illustrate also the situation for the German emigrant of the eighteenth century.

The only occasion when a Swiss government of the eighteenth century encouraged emigration was at the very beginning, and by the Council of Bern. This happened in the following way: in the

years 1701-1704 the Bernese traveller Franz Ludwig Michel made two trips to the American colonies, visiting Pennsylvania and Virginia mainly, with the object incidentally of selecting a site for a colony. His manuscript report<sup>1</sup> on his journeys concludes with a draft of a petition to Queen Anne, proposing a Swiss settlement of from four to five hundred persons in Pennsylvania or Virginia under certain liberal conditions. The principal promoters of this plan were Georg Ritter and Rudolff Ochs,<sup>2</sup> who succeeded as early as 1705 in interesting the Council of Bern and the English envoy Aglionby in the scheme.<sup>3</sup>

It is of importance to note the motives that impelled the government of Bern to take up the matter. Emigration of the virile and well-to-do elements of the population was not what they intended, but they saw an opportunity of ridding themselves of what seemed to them two very undesirable classes of people. One of these was a pauper element, the homeless *Landsassen*, squatters not citizens. The other was the sectarian class, Baptists, Anabaptists, or Mennonites (*Wiedertäufer, Täufer*). The latter particularly were considered a source of danger to both Church and State: their refusal to bear arms or hold office, their simplicity of worship and communistic tendencies, seemed to undermine the foundations of civil governments, of the Protestant and Catholic churches alike. The most terrible and relentless persecution by courts specially appointed (*Täufer-Kammer*) and spies tracking the suspected to their homes (*Täufer-Jäger*), executions by fire and water (drowning, with intended irony), compulsory service in foreign armies or on the galleys of the Mediterranean, could not stop the spread of the sectarian doc-

<sup>1</sup> This interesting manuscript is preserved in the Stadtbibliothek of Bern. Much of the German text of the manuscript has been printed in an article by J. H. Graf, entitled "Franz Ludwig Michel von Bern und seine ersten Reisen nach Amerika 1701-1704: ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte der Gründung von New-Berne", in the *Neues Berner Taschenbuch*, 1898, pp. 59-144. A translation into English of the complete manuscript has appeared in the *Virginia Magazine of History*, beginning in January, 1916, done by Professor William J. Hinke. The unique illustrations of the manuscript, including maps, the first building of the College of William and Mary, etc., are there reproduced to accompany the text; explanatory notes are also given.

<sup>2</sup> Joh. Rudolff Ochs compiled a descriptive work on Carolina, entitled: *Amerikanischer Wegweiser oder Kurtze und Eigentliche Beschreibung der Englischen Provintzen in Nord-America, Sonderlich aber der Landschaft Carolina, mit Grossem Fleiss zusammen getragen und an den Tag gegeben durch Joh. Rudolff Ochs neben einer neuen u. correcten Land-Karten von Nord- und Süd-Carolina* (Bern, 1711). Fifty thalers were voted to the author by the Council of Bern for this printed work dedicated to them; see *Ratsmanuale* of Bern, March 21, 1711.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Faust, *Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives* (Washington, 1916), p. 37.

trines. Deportation to the American colonies seemed to offer a hope of relief. Accordingly, the Council of Bern welcomed the opportunity offered by Ritter and Company, though they presented a double face, recommending America to the Mennonites as a place they could obtain an abundance of food, while at the same time warning others against Pennsylvania, a desert, in which food supplies were altogether lacking, and from which the government felt duty-bound to hold its people back until longer experience had been gained.<sup>4</sup>

The expedition of Ritter did not start until March, 1710. We find an entry in the Ratsmanuale of Bern, that forty-five thalers a head were to be paid to Ritter for every *Täufer* he succeeded in bringing to America, and five hundred thalers more for another group of about one hundred emigrants (pauper class), who desired to go to America.<sup>5</sup> The deportation of Ritter's group of Anabaptists proved a failure, though every possible precaution had been taken to prevent their escape. The Dutch Mennonites objected strenuously to the deportation of brothers of their faith, and refused to allow any to be carried through their country for the purpose of transportation to America, unless it were of their own free will. Of the forty-three men and eleven women composing the *Täufer* group, thirty-two were released at Mannheim owing to age and sickness, the remaining twenty-two gained their liberty at Nimwegen.<sup>6</sup>

Graffenried and Michel became members of the Ritter Company in 1710, the former's connections with influential men in England, and the latter's experience, being of value in rescuing the Bernese emigration scheme from complete failure. A total purchase of 17,500 acres was made and probably through the influence of the surveyor Lawson the land was located at the confluence of the Neuse and the Trent in North Carolina. At this time London was crowded with more than ten thousand Palatine emigrants desirous of being transported to the American colonies, and the problem of their sustenance and disposition was becoming very burdensome. Graffenried and Michel succeeded in getting about six hundred of them for their Carolina colony, and Graffenried had the privilege of choosing what seemed to him the most desirable persons. These and the remnant of Bernese emigrants made up several ship-loads of colonists for Graffenried's new settlement. The fortunes of New Bern in its beginnings have been told by the facile pen of the founder

<sup>4</sup> Bern, Mandatenbuch, 1709, 1710; Bern, Ratsmanuale (RM.), XL. 238, 392.

<sup>5</sup> Bern, RM., XLI. 229, 281, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ernst Müller, *Geschichte der Bernischen Täufer* (Frauenfeld, 1895), pp. 252, 278, etc.

himself.<sup>7</sup> He built better than he knew, under a luckier star than Peter Purry, whose town, so promising before the Revolutionary War, has left but a name in colonial history.

From the point of view of aiding the government in the deportation of undesirables, the Ritter agency was a total failure. Such a scheme was again discussed by the Berner Rat in 1710,<sup>8</sup> with a proposition to buy land in one of the American colonies for this purpose. But the plan was dropped, and never taken up again. There was a return to the original position on the subject of emigration, that contained in the prohibitory decrees of the seventeenth century,<sup>9</sup> punishing returning emigrants with loss of property and citizenship.

The old tradition forbade emigration. Leaving the country of one's birth seemed equivalent to desertion, and as desertion from the ranks was paid for with loss of life, so emigration was punishable with loss of all that the state deemed worth having, citizenship, property, land- and home-rights. Banishment, social ostracism, refusal of permission to return, imprisonment for life if caught returning, these were the conditions on which the emigrant gave up his country. Characteristic is the categorical command in the Lutheran translation of Psalm xxxvii. 3: "Bleibe im Lande und nähre dich redlich", which in the English version is an indefinite promise of reward for good deeds.<sup>10</sup> Remain in the land of thy forefathers and earn an honest living therein, is the admonition which Luther reads out of the Psalmist's text, and which is spoken out of his own heart. Emigration is sinful and its wages death, so judged the sixteenth, seventeenth, and most of the eighteenth century; the nineteenth introduced a more liberal view.

<sup>7</sup> The three manuscripts of Graffenried on the settlement of New Bern are described, and two of them printed, in *German American Annals*, n. s., XI. 205-302, and XII. 63-190. See also *Guide*, pp. 73-75. W. F. von Mülinen, librarian of the city of Bern, has written the authoritative account of the life and career of Graffenried, based throughout on the original manuscripts given him by the Graffenried family. Cf. *Christoph von Graffenried, Landgraf von Carolina, Gründer von Neu-Bern*, zumeist nach Familienpapieren und Copien seiner amtlichen Berichte, von Wolfgang Friedrich von Mülinen, *Neujahrsblatt hrg. v. Historischen Verein des Kantons Bern für 1897* (Bern, 1896). A trustworthy and very readable account in English of Graffenried's settlement of New Bern has appeared in the *Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois*, Jahrgang 1912, by Vincent H. Todd: "Christoph von Graffenried and the Founding of New Bern, N. C." The reprint is entitled: "Baron Christoph von Graffenried's New Bern Adventures".

<sup>8</sup> Bern, RM., XLI. 408.

<sup>9</sup> Bern, Mandatenbuch, 1641, 1643, 1660; see *Guide*, p. 33.

<sup>10</sup> Psalm xxxvii. 3 in the Lutheran Bible reads: "Hoffe auf den Herrn und thue Gutes; bleibe im Lande und nähre dich redlich." The English Bible interprets: "Trust in the Lord, and do good; so shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed."

There were some good reasons for the policy of restricting, if not prohibiting, emigration in the eighteenth century. An able-bodied emigrant meant the loss of a defender of the land, and of an agricultural or industrial worker. Especially in the smaller countries of Central Europe a large loss of population might mean political or economic ruin. An increase of population seemed the result of good government, a decrease an indication of unsuccessful or incapable rulers. Many governments, particularly in Switzerland, assumed a paternal attitude toward their subjects, caring for their material and spiritual welfare, or at least pretending to do so. They felt this duty very keenly when it was to their advantage. Hearing that many emigrants were lost at sea, and that many others met insuperable difficulties after their arrival in the American colonies, they warned their subjects in fatherly fashion, and soon forbade their leaving, to save them against themselves. Similarly the Protestant governments were very much concerned for the spiritual welfare of such as might in 1720 take service in a Catholic province,<sup>11</sup> or either church might object to its people going into a colony of sectarians. In 1716 the Ratsherren of Bern passed a resolution to allow only those to emigrate who could prove that they were well taught in religion (and were poor).<sup>12</sup> Thus they endeavored to save the souls of their people, and at the same time to prevent the spread of heretical doctrines.

After the colonization scheme of 1710 had quickly come to an end at Bern, no further attempts were made for a decade. The initiative then twice came from the neighboring principality of Neuchâtel (Neuenburg). In 1720 a captain in the regiment Karrer by the name of Merveilleux (alias Wunderlich) attempted to secure recruits for service in (the island of) Mississippi. He seems to have succeeded in getting "several whole families of poor people",<sup>13</sup> but his scheme was vigorously opposed by Bern and other governments, partly owing to a distrust of overseas service, and partly on religious grounds, as described above. The other attempt was far more successful in course of time. It was the plan of Jean Pierre Purry of the firm Purry et Compagnie in Neuchâtel to found a colony in Carolina. He began to advertise as early as 1725 for three or four hundred workingmen of different professions, all Swiss Protestants of good reputation and manners, between the ages of twenty and

<sup>11</sup> Expedition of Merveilleux, service in Mississippi region; see *Guide*, p. 41, etc.

<sup>12</sup> Bern, RM., LXVIII. 36.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, LXXXIV. 378; Erlach-Buch D., p. 661.

forty. In spite of his advertisements,<sup>14</sup> spread broadcast and posted wherever possible, in which South Carolina was praised as one of the "finest countries in the universe", Purry did not make much headway until about five years later. He also published a book descriptive of Carolina, which was feared with good reason by paternal Swiss governments. In 1732 Purry established his colony of Purrysburgh with ninety-three colonists, to which there were soon added several hundred more.<sup>15</sup> The settlement had a prosperous beginning in comparison with many others, and is noted in colonial history for its experiment in silk growing and manufacture.

Social and economic conditions favored an increase in emigration during the thirties and forties of the eighteenth century. In Bern, Zürich, Basel, Luzern, Appenzell, Fribourg, Vaud, and elsewhere, the ruling classes, often composed of a few patrician families, bore down heavily upon the city and country folk, depriving them of all possibility of rising above their wretched economic condition, and enacting offensive laws, such as those forbidding artisans to carry wares under the arcades (*Lauben*) of Bern, so that the patricians might walk through them in comfort, or closing the vegetable market to all but the noble class until 11 a. m. Rebellion was the consequence, but unfortunately victory always remained with the aristocrats until the French Revolution awakened the Swiss people to a united stand for their liberties.

During this period Switzerland remained the recruiting ground for the powerful nations of Europe. Young Swiss noblemen found it a profitable business to equip and lead regiments in foreign armies, while their recruits, good soldiers who did not spare themselves, received none of the bounteous rewards. A large percentage of officers and men, however, never returned to their homes. Swiss fought against Swiss on the battlefields of Europe, in the War of the Austrian Succession, as often before. It was estimated that in 1740 about 69,000 Swiss mercenary soldiers served in foreign armies, about 22,000 in French, 2400 in Austrian, 13,600 in Spanish, 10,600 in Sardinian, 20,400 in Dutch service.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> See Documents, F, on p. 131, below. The documents accompanying this article were found in the archives of Basel and Bern. They are representative specimens of a very much larger number, illustrating emigration problems of the eighteenth century.

<sup>15</sup> Lists of their names are given in the authoritative account of the colony by Judge Henry A. M. Smith, entitled "Purrysburgh", in the *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, X. 187-219 (1909). See also *Guide*, p. 169, etc.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Eröffnungsrede*, gehalten in der Helvetischen Gesellschaft zu Langenthal, den 31. Mai 1843, von Regierungsrat Fetscherin in Bern, pp. 84-85. Cf. also: Johannes Dierauer, *Geschichte der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft* (Gotha, 1912), IV. 234.



Add to these conditions periodic failures of crops, due to hailstorms and floods, as in the Bernese Oberland, and no sentimental ties nor governmental restrictions could restrain the desire for emigration. It is not surprising that at times this desire rose to a passion, that threatened to depopulate large sections and gave the governments good cause for alarm. Such an emigration epoch existed in Switzerland between 1730 and 1750, the high tide coming between 1734 and 1744.

What started the movement it is difficult to say. Perhaps the continuous advertisements of J. P. Purry had the effect of touching the match to the powder-barrel. Perhaps favorable letters from colonists happy in the new country had been coming in for a long time, with the natural suggestion to follow after. At all events the emigration fever gave visible signs of becoming epidemic.

Zürich acted quickly, issuing a decree, November 3, 1734,<sup>17</sup> forbidding her people to travel to Carolina, preventing the sale of property by those wishing to emigrate, proclaiming punishment of agents enticing people to emigrate or distributing seductive literature. This was followed after a few months by the decree of January 29, 1735, which repeated the previous commands, and added sterner measures, deprivation of citizenship and land-rights forever, punishment also of the purchasers of property sold by emigrants, close watch over and severe punishment of persons enticing others to leave. The decrees were read from all the pulpits in town and country, they were posted in public places, yet Zürich, as the records show, found it necessary to let large numbers depart.

Bern did not act as promptly, nor with the same decision. She hesitated before sending an order, July 6, 1734, to all the districts, warning against emigration to Carolina, restricting emigration to the homeless class and to sectarians, who were even to be assisted with funds to get away. The policy of 1710 seems still to have held sway in the minds of many of the Ratsherren, that of using America as a colony for deportation of undesirables. A letter is written to Untersee, urging the *Amtmann* to explain to those desirous of leaving, that the "printed book on Carolina" contains falsehoods; those who can not be persuaded to remain, shall be taxed five per cent. of the value of their property (a tax raised to 10 per cent. shortly after). In the meantime the gun-maker Striker (Stryger) of Steffisburg is suspected of being an emigrant agent, he is commanded to surrender his list of names, and in December he is banished from the country. Anxiously Bern inquires of Zürich, what she is doing to cure the

<sup>17</sup> This decree and the one of 1735 are printed in full in the *Guide*, pp. 15-17.

"emigration fever". Zürich sends copies of her decrees forbidding emigration, whereupon Bern is roused to publish her first decree, January 12, 1735,<sup>18</sup> warning her people of the Oberland against the trip to Carolina. It is a document altogether different from the Zürich decrees, in that it attempts to use persuasion rather than force. The *Amtleute* are to explain to those desirous of seeking their fortunes in Carolina, that the printed accounts on the subject are misleading, that the sea-journey is a long one, the change of air, the strange food, the lack of fresh water, occasion sickness and death among Swiss people, pirates on the sea sell them into slavery, and arriving in Carolina as paupers, they are obliged to sell themselves into servitude. Those who in spite of these warnings were determined to go, should not be prohibited from doing so, nor would they sacrifice the government's good-will, except those who possessed means valued at over five hundred pounds, who should be compelled to give up their citizenship and land-right. Emigration was not to be prohibited, but made distasteful, and the country was to be guarded against loss, as when persons of the homeless class were put into the places of those citizens who had left the district.

The records of the year 1735 at Bern show continuous emigration. Investigations concerning Carolina are ordered and reports are received. On February 3 a vote is recorded that no more passports shall be given to emigrants, but on March 2, on their petition, 322 persons are allowed to leave for the American colonies, and on the next day another group of emigrants from Oberhasli are given permission, provided they have means to the extent of five hundred pounds, defraying their expenses, and provided children left behind be cared for. On March 13 three ships are designated to transport the greater part (*Hauptschwarm*) of the emigrants.<sup>19</sup> On March 17 a group are given back the ten per cent. tax which they had already paid. If any of them desire to return, they can still buy back their property. If children do not desire to go with their parents, they are to receive a part of the family property. March 23 a complaint is received from the financial agent May in London concerning the distressing condition of Swiss (especially from Bern, Zürich, Graubünden) emigrants arriving there. Money is voted to bring them back, with one exception, for whom a guinea is sent to continue her journey to America. April 25 some success is reported in keeping back a group of highlanders of Oberhasli and Interlaken, and advice is asked concerning methods of providing for them. But, a few months after, the *commissaire* in London reports that a number of

<sup>18</sup> The decree is printed in full in the *Guide*, pp. 34-35.

<sup>19</sup> Bern, RM., CXLVI. 215, 266, 270, 337.

Bernese, desiring to go to Georgia, had arrived in England. On September 26 measures are taken against a certain person named Quinche of Neuchâtel, who is trying to entice people to go to Carolina (probably in the interests of Purrysburgh). This completes the record of the excitement at Bern for the year 1735. The pressure of emigration proved irresistible.<sup>20</sup>

A vacillating policy in regard to emigration continued at Bern for a number of years more. An optimistic view was recorded on May 5, 1738: The emigration tax (*Abzug*) should not be increased, first, because of the attention thereby directed to it and consequent dissatisfaction, secondly, because emigration was on the decline, "the RABIES CAROLINAE" had happily disappeared, and the people had allowed themselves to be persuaded by the sad fate of the best of the emigrants rather than by the paternal advice of the Ratsherren.<sup>21</sup> But emigration had by no means stopped, it was destined to flow again, triumphantly, especially after 1740. In 1741 Hans Riemensperger of Toggenburg is planning to induce people to go with him to Carolina and Georgia, and his arrest is ordered. Neuchâtel is warned against him. Peter Huber is under suspicion the following year, when the "emigration fever" seems to start anew. "Auswanderung wieder lebhaft im Gang", is an entry in the record book on March 1, 1742. The Bernese highlanders are emigrating again in large numbers. Some are diverted from their purpose by offers of work in the French parts of the canton. In view of the danger the policy of Bern changes. A decree is issued April 26, 1742, forbidding all emigration to Carolina or elsewhere in America, under heavy penalties. A period of three months is allowed in which emigrants may return, after which loss of citizenship, land-right, and property will be enforced. Property shall not be sent out of the country, but shall be forfeited to the community which the emigrant has left. Children under age (at the time of emigration) may return to their rights at any time, others shall be treated as agents attempting to entice people to emigrate. The decree yielded nothing in severity to those of Zürich published in 1734-1735 and re-enforced in 1739, 1741, and 1744.

In spite of all exertions on the part of the government, so it is recorded February 17, 1744, people from the Oberland go to Carolina in hordes (*haufenweise*). They are allowed to go, but such as return are to be put into prison. Peter Inäbnit, returning from Carolina, is under suspicion and is thrown into prison. On the same day, March 17, 1744, eighty emigrants, who have already paid

<sup>20</sup> See *Guide*, pp. 43-45.

<sup>21</sup> Säckelschreiber Protokolle, Y., Bern, May 5, 1738.

their tax (*Abzug*), pass by the city of Bern in a boat. Other agents (*Amerika-Werber*) appear, Jakob Walder of the canton of Zürich, Jacob Joner of Basel, and others. Reports having appeared in newspapers that many thousands of emigrants had arrived in Basel ready to go to America and Nova Scotia, Bern requests Basel, Zürich, and other cantons, on June 26, to suppress such newspaper reports (whether true or false). Similarly a French paper of Bern is rebuked in 1750 (February 26), for publishing an article on Carolina and Pennsylvania, "where people make their fortunes". In the same year, after a group from the Oberland has succeeded in getting a ship at Yverdun to take them over the lake, emigrants are thenceforth forbidden to take ship at this point. Letters are constantly searched for and confiscated; in 1753 the bearers of letters, Hans Zurflüh and Hans Wyss, are imprisoned for twenty-four hours, and then compelled to leave the country within a week.

Preachers who came to Switzerland soliciting funds for churches or Bibles, or seeking ministers for churches in America, were thought to be especially dangerous, since they could not be punished by the laws, yet their presence had the effect of enticing people to emigration. Therefore they were given the *consilium abeundi* and to facilitate their speedy departure, their hotel and travelling expenses (to the border) were given them. This happened to Michael Schlatter (prominent organizer of Reformed churches in America) in 1751, and to Pastor Gasser (minister of the Reformed church at Santee Forks, South Carolina) in 1755, who shortly after was ordered to be arrested on the charge of influencing people at Interlaken. Thus the Ratsherren of Bern had troubles unceasing in the attempt to keep their people at home, and even in 1766 and later complained of losing their population.<sup>22</sup>

Basel felt the pressure of emigration immediately because of her location at the gateway of travel. She had cause to complain of emigrants arriving in a pauperized condition, waiting to be transported.<sup>23</sup> A large number of emigrants were examined as to the causes of their leaving,<sup>24</sup> the most common reasons given being poverty, lack of employment, and failure of crops, while the hope of bettering their condition, or making their fortunes appears very seldom. The government of Basel commonly allowed emigrants to pass on, though vigorous efforts were made to discourage wholesale emigration. As early as 1735 difficulties were created for emigrants

<sup>22</sup> The subject may be followed in detail by consulting the *Ratsmanuale*, in *Guide*, pp. 40-53.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Guide*, p. 101, etc.

<sup>24</sup> See Documents, D, 1 and 2.

who wished to sell their property (*Vergantung*, or *Ganten*) ; the ten per cent. tax<sup>25</sup> also, and an additional sum for manumission in the case of those in bondage, were exacted, except that those whose possessions amounted to less than one hundred pounds<sup>26</sup> were released from all payments. Many there were who had not a penny, which circumstance is also faithfully recorded in the official lists,<sup>27</sup> sometimes with a spark of unconscious humor, as: Hans Jacob Märcklin from Dürnen has 1 wife, 4 children, and otherwise nothing (*sonst nichts*). Martin Gass from Rothenflue has 1 wife, 8 children, and nothing more (*weiter nichts*). The same list reports that: Hans Rudi Erb from Rotenflue is unmarried, has a bad face, and 130 pounds worth of property. To avoid the tax or for other reasons many emigrants left their homes in secret, leaving behind letters to their friends, or sending them regretful notice of their departure after having crossed the border. These are referred to as *Heimliche Emigranten* in the records of Basel.<sup>28</sup>

The decrees of Basel, finally forbidding emigration to America, resemble those of Zürich and Bern. The one of 1749, printed in full among the Documents<sup>29</sup> accompanying this article, prohibits the securing of an inheritance by anyone who has left the country; the emigrant is to be considered as "dead", and bereft of rights. This mandate was renewed in 1771, and an additional decree was published in 1773, aimed particularly at crafty emigrant agents, attempting to collect inheritances for friends in America. The word *Neuländer* is here<sup>30</sup> used for *Werber*, agent. The petitions and records at Basel show that the high tide of emigration at that city occurred between 1734 and 1752; another wave started about 1767 and lasted until 1773, when it was interrupted by the Revolutionary War. Emigration started again, though feebly, in 1786.<sup>31</sup>

The archives of Schaffhausen give evidence of emigration from that quarter in large numbers between 1734 and 1748. The Chronicle of the city (*Harder Chronik*) refers to this emigration several times, *e. g.*, September 8, 1738:

In June many poor people from neighboring districts, notably Merishausen and Reiat, emigrated to North America. When then also some

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Kaspar Hauser, "Ueber den Abzug in der Schweiz", in *Jahrbuch für Schweizerische Geschichte*, hrg. auf Veranstaltung der Allgemeinen Geschichtschenden Gesellschaft der Schweiz, Bd. XXXIV. (Zürich, 1909).

<sup>26</sup> The value of the pound, Basel currency, was about two francs.

<sup>27</sup> See Documents, D, 1.

<sup>28</sup> For a specimen of such a letter, see Documents under B, no. 4.

<sup>29</sup> See under Documents, E, 1.

<sup>30</sup> See under Documents, E, 2.

<sup>31</sup> See *Guide*, pp. 101-107.

[of our] subjects at Rüdlingen and Buchberg made the unseasonable resolve to leave their fatherland and travel to far distant lands, and thus in thoughtless manner expose themselves to great discomfort and extreme wretchedness with repentance coming too late, the government "stepped in" and forbade emigration on penalty of the loss of land-right.

The cantons of Aargau, Solothurn, and especially Graubünden also furnished a quota of emigrants in the eighteenth century, though the records have been lost. There was emigration also from Luzern and the forest cantons, though the emigration from Catholic was smaller than from Protestant cantons. Interesting plans were proposed from time to time, to employ those desiring to emigrate in some remunerative industry, or to use the undivided land (*Allmend*) or the forests (*Hochwald*) for the benefit of the hopelessly poor. Almost without exception, however, these plans were never put into execution, and in the very few cases when they were carried out, they lived only a very short time.<sup>32</sup>

The archives of Switzerland throw new light on the character and methods of the emigrant agent. Owing to the severe penalties placed upon the trade, he appears as a far more subtle individual than the traditional *Neuländer*. The latter (so he is generally depicted), having failed as a colonist and finding "emigrant-hunting" a far more profitable means of livelihood, affected the appearance of wealth, with his conspicuous attire and heavy gold watch and chain, and loudly proclaimed tales of easily acquired wealth, bearing forged letters in witness of his claims. Such a figure may have existed and flourished at the seaports of Europe and America, but he could not have survived longer than a day in the upper Rhine country or in Switzerland. Watchful eyes would have been upon him, and the reward would have been collected for his capture twice before he could have earned a single fee for bringing an emigrant to port. The successful emigrant agent was a person of an entirely different description, shrewd, tactful, inconspicuous, denying any purpose of his visit, except to collect a debt or inheritance for a friend in America. He was careful not to arouse suspicion, and gave information only when asked for it. A good view of his methods can be derived from the records at Bern and Basel of trials (*Verhöre*) of persons suspected of enticing emigrants. Two of these are of particular interest, the examination of Peter Huber at Basel and Bern in 1742, and of Peter Inäbnit at Bern, in 1744. The ver-

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Dr. E. Lerch, *Die Bernische Auswanderung nach Amerika im 18. Jahrhundert*, separate print from the *Blätter für Bernische Geschichte, Kunst, und Altertumskunde*, Jahrgang V., Heft 4, December, 1909, pp. 19-31. Cf. also Bern, *Responsa Prudentum, Guide*, p. 55.



batim reports of these trials, found in the archives of Bern and Basel, are published here for the first time, accompanying this article.<sup>33</sup>

Peter Huber was taken captive at Basel on the request of Bern. The examination at Basel reveals that he was a native of Oberhasli in the Bernese Oberland, about thirty years of age, and by trade a shoemaker. He was on his way back to Carolina, accompanied by his wife and two children, whom he had come to fetch the foregoing summer. One daughter had gone with him to Carolina on his first trip, about eight years before (1734), and she had remained in Carolina. To the question, whether he had any other travelling companions, he answered that his sister was bringing his baggage for him, and another woman, Barbara Horger, expected to go with him to Carolina. He denied knowing aught of the group of emigrants who had arrived at Basel, and affirmed positively that he had not urged anyone to make the journey with him. A number of emigrants at Basel were examined,<sup>34</sup> one of whom declared that he had been enticed by Huber, but that now, yielding to the advice of the authorities, he would prefer to remain. All ten others denied that Huber had put the idea into their heads, and all but two insisted on being allowed to go. So far no damaging evidence was brought against Huber. He was then taken to Bern in custody, and subjected to a more searching trial. The questions show that a body of facts had been collected against him that might indeed arouse suspicion, but such was Huber's skill in answering them, that he could not be convicted on the first examination. Some of the questions and answers were as follows:

Q.: Could he [Huber] deny, that he had desired to take some people away with him?

A.: He had desired to take no one away, except his sister, and the foreigner Jacob Lanu, who had worked in the mines for seven years. The latter had frequently approached him asking to be taken along, but he [Huber] had refused, saying that such a thing was prohibited. The inspector of the mines had, however, told Lanu that, being a free man, he could go wherever he wished. [Lanu was not a Bernese subject.]

When Lanu was confronted with Huber, contrary to his previous statement, he declared that Huber had not enticed him, but that he wanted to go on his own free will.

Q.: Did not Peter Scherz of Aeschi come to him [Huber] at Unterseen, and ask, whether a weaver could with wife and children make a living in Carolina?

<sup>33</sup> See Documents, A, 1, 3, 4.

<sup>34</sup> See under Documents, A, 2.

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A.: Scherz had come to him at Zollbrück, crossed the lake and spent the night with him, but that he [Huber] had told him there were enough weavers in Carolina, moreover that Scherz had not enough money for so long a journey. Subsequently he had received two letters from Scherz, which he had not answered.

Q.: Whether he did not urge Hans Aebiger to go to Carolina?

A.: Aebiger had come to him and asked how the hunting was in Carolina? Upon this he had described the country. Aebiger also asked him about a gun, which Aebiger offered him.

Aebiger affirmed, when examined, that Huber had awakened in him the desire to emigrate, and especially in his wife, who left him no peace about it, but that he was willing to remain, rather than incur the ill-will of the government. Several others also were examined.<sup>35</sup> Those who decided to remain, perhaps in order to better their chances with the authorities, threw the blame on Huber, while those who were firm in their resolution to go, exonerated Huber from any attempt to entice them.

After a number of other questions on individual cases, the court declared that it was very plain that Huber had enticed the poor people by praising Carolina; he should therefore confess in order to secure more gracious treatment. Thereupon Huber boldly affirmed, that he had spoken nothing but the truth; he had given up his citizenship and land-right, and had enticed no one; no person would dare to confront him with such a charge. Huber was remanded to prison.

A few days later a slip of paper was discovered, which Huber had thrown out of the prison window, and on which he told those who were still minded to travel with him to Carolina, to go and tarry for a while in the neighboring Neuchâtel; as soon as he was set free he would come to them and take them along with him to Carolina. Upon this new evidence Huber was tried again. The examiners skillfully concealed their discovery at first, in the hope of extracting more information, and cautioned him to adhere strictly to the truth.

Q.: What route had he [Huber] taken on his previous journey to Carolina?

A.: By way of Burgundy [*i. e.*, Neuchâtel-Besançon], and France to Calais.

Q.: Why then did he take a different route this time, and go by way of the Brünig Pass, Unterwalden, Basel?

The question was a critical one, for there was suspicion, that he was taking people from the Oberland by the mountain route to Lucerne, and thence to Basel, keeping them out of the jurisdiction

<sup>35</sup> See under Documents, A, 3 (at the close).

of Bern. Otherwise they would have to come by way of Thun and pass Bern, on the way to Neuchâtel.

A.: He had intended to take his former route, but in order to avoid suspicion, and being followed by emigrants, he preferred the other route.

Q.: Whether he did not know that people had gone ahead to Basel to await him there?

A.: No, he had heard that one or another had gone down from the Oberland, but where they intended to go he did not know, except in the case of Barbara Horger, who accompanied him.

Q.: He should tell truthfully, whether this was not a plan, to meet at Basel, and then go together to Carolina?

A.: No! He had nothing to do with those people, for he expected to take his usual route from Basel by land to Calais, while those people were going to take the Rhine route, and a ship had already been engaged for them.

New evidence was now brought against him; his baggage had been examined and a most interesting device for concealing letters was found therein.

Q.: Was he [Huber] not in possession of a wooden vessel [*hölzernes Geschirr*], the top of which would hold drink, and the bottom of which could be used for concealing letters?

A.: Yes, such a one was made for him by Hans Roth in Carolina, and could be found in his baggage.

Q.: Had he not given Landsvenner Sterchi<sup>36</sup> at Zollbrück a ring and seal, by which he could recognize letters coming from him?

A.: No! He had, however, brought with him a letter of Peter Zaugg in Carolina to Sterchi; he knew not if anything of the sort were contained therein.

Q.: Since he [Huber] had thus far been very obstinate in denying answers to questions, at the same time had assured the court, that he would gladly confess all that was true, they wished now to see how earnestly he loved the truth: Did he not, the day before yesterday, throw [from his prison window] toward a woman of his part of the country [Oberland], a piece of paper, on which was written, that those that still had a desire to travel with him, should go to Neuchâtel and tarry there a while, that he hoped his case was not so bad that he might not soon be free, and when at liberty he would come and in passing take them with him, they would then directly be in Burgundy, and could pass on unhindered?

A.: At this question he seemed altogether terrified, looked about him to one side and another, and for some time did not know what to say, and the tears came to his eyes. Finally he answered: Yes! He could not deny this; he had thought, that when once free and finding these people outside of the jurisdiction of Bern, he could take them along without doing any wrong, but he confessed being grievously at fault in this, and humbly besought God's and Their Graces' pardon. [Act. March 21, 1742.]

<sup>36</sup> Landsvenner (Bannerträger) Sterchi was a friend of emigrants; see his name mentioned in a letter, Documents, C, 2.

Huber was taken back to prison, but was evidently set free soon after, and banished forever, perhaps under threat of the death penalty if he were caught attempting to return. We learn from the testimony of Peter Inäbnit, two years later, that Huber arrived in Carolina with a small number of emigrants, perhaps with more than the examinee was willing to state.

Peter Inäbnit (Imäbnit, In Äbnit, or Im Äbnit), brought to trial in 1744, was not so fortunate. He lost his life in the venture, though equally clever and perhaps better instructed, for Inäbnit left Carolina after Huber had returned, and probably received directions from him. Peter Inäbnit had left Switzerland in 1734 with his parents and their children, when he was still under age. He was therefore privileged to return to his home in Grindelwald, and could lawfully remain there if he wished, for the law debarring an emigrant from all rights did not apply to his children leaving under age. It was very clever on the part of Inäbnit to declare that he wished to live in Switzerland, and not return to Carolina. He was about twenty-five years of age in 1743, when he reappeared in the Oberland, to collect some money from a relative in his native town of Grindelwald. He was observed moving from place to place, notably in the districts of Hasli and Interlaken, whence most of the emigrants had always come. He also visited Reichenbach (located near Bern on the peninsula of the river Aare), then the seat of the English envoy. He had been seen surrounded by large crowds of people, especially on Sundays, and he was asked all sorts of questions by them, but was moderate in his speech. He was also reported to have brought letters from Carolina. For all of these circumstances he was under suspicion, and was soon brought before a court for examination.<sup>37</sup>

Many a prisoner fell a victim to his inquisitors on the initial question, why have you been taken captive? Not so, Peter Inäbnit. He expressed ignorance and surprise.

Q.: Why was he still remaining in the country, though his business must have been settled long ago?

A.: He expected to remain in Switzerland. In Carolina he had lived nine years, and suffered from illness all but the first two, for that reason he did not like the country, and did not expect to return.

Q.: There were reasons to doubt this, for it was known, that he had come with a very different purpose; he should tell squarely, whether he had not come to entice some of his countrymen, and engage them to go with him to Carolina?

A.: God forbid! He had not come to take anybody with him.

Q.: How could he explain, that wherever he appeared in the Oberland, crowds of people gathered about him, and since then it was found that a great many desired to emigrate?

<sup>37</sup> See Documents, A, 4.

A.: Of that he knew nothing, but he could tell no other reason, than that they wanted to hear something about how their relatives in Carolina were getting along.

Q.: Had he not praised the country, or talked about it to anyone?

A.: To many who asked out of curiosity, he had spoken about the nature of the country, but no one could prove, that he had advised anyone to go there.

Q.: Whether he did not write a letter to the English envoy with this intention?

A.: At this he was somewhat taken aback. Finally he confessed having written the letter,<sup>38</sup> saying he never intended delivering it to the envoy, but merely wished to satisfy those who urged him to do so. No sensible person, said he, would ever think, that anything could be accomplished in this way.

Q.: Would he deny having been at Reichenbach, in order to speak with the envoy?

A.: To be sure, he had been there, but had had no audience with the envoy.<sup>39</sup>

Q.: Whether he did not, at Grindelwald, station himself in the churchyard on Sundays, and commend Carolina to the people?

A.: He never staid long in the churchyard, but many people came to him in the inn, but he told them nothing more than what they asked about Carolina.

Q.: Whether he had not brought letters from Carolina, that undoubtedly gave a favorable enough account of the country?

A.: Yes. Eight letters, one to Grindelwald, and seven to Oberhasli.

Questioned about the letters in another examination, he said he knew not the contents, except that Christen Brauen wrote to his father, that he had arrived safely, but not having had sufficient means, he had been obliged to serve for four years. People in Carolina, Inäbnit declared, had tried to overload him with letters, but he had refused except in behalf of his nearest friends, because only trouble came of it.

Q.: Who had told him to write to the English envoy?

A.: He could not tell, but he had been urged from many quarters.

Q.: Why did he wish to speak to the English envoy personally?

A.: He wanted to offer his services, since he had heard that the English resident desired a servant who could speak English. But he did not succeed in seeing him.

<sup>38</sup> The letter in question has survived; it is printed in full under Documents, A, 4. It reported to the English resident at Reichenbach, that there were about 200 persons ready to go to Carolina, if the Hon. Ambassador would open his generous hand, but that most of the people were poor, and some that were not did not know how to get their property away. Some had small children and did not know how to go about the matter of the journey. They wanted also to know something about the period of service.

<sup>39</sup> It would have been very unwise for the envoy to receive a person offering to violate the laws of the country to which he was accredited.

Q.: What had he told the people about Carolina, making so many of them anxious to go there?

A.: He had not said anything specially about it, except in answer to questions; moreover, he had neither praised nor blamed the country, but of course told them what the conditions were, and that over there as here, whoever brought nothing was in a bad way, and although as a carpenter he had earned 15 batzen a day, he did not wish to go back, because he could not pull through very well.

Q.: Had not in the preceding year Peter Huber taken people to Carolina? [An attempt to connect him with the convicted agent.]

A.: There were nine or ten persons who arrived with him, but he [Huber] could not have derived any benefit therefrom, especially since some, for their travelling expenses, had to serve those who had released them from the ship.

Q.: He should once for all tell the truth, and say, whether he had not been sent expressly to bring people into the country?

A.: No, he had merely wished to see his fatherland again, and remain here, or in Germany.

The document goes on to say, that after the prisoner, in spite of expostulations, threats of torture, and confrontation with the executioner, had refused further statement or confession, he was taken up to the torture-chamber and once more vehemently urged, and threatened with the application of torture—nevertheless he adhered firmly to his previous statements, *viz.*, that he had not come to entice anyone to go to Carolina, that he did not know what was contained in the letters he brought with him, that he himself did not intend to return to Carolina, and no one could charge that he had lured anyone to go, on the contrary he had rather advised against than in favor of emigrating. For the rest he realized that he was in the power of the high authorities, they could do with him whatever they wished, however he begged that they graciously give him his liberty. Upon that he was condemned to stand in the stocks, and then banished forever. This was in February, 1744.

In spite of his cleverness, courage, and firmness, Peter Inäbnit failed, for he lacked the quality of caution. He made the mistake of writing too many letters, dangerous instruments, for they could easily get into the wrong hands. Instead of leaving Switzerland at once, he was discovered at Basel during the following month, and brought once more to Bern. There he was forced to confess that he had written letters to Hans Nägeli, Christen Brunner, and Hans Müller, instructing them how to go about preparing for the journey to Carolina. He claimed that he was greatly urged to do so, was under the influence of drink, and believed he was doing no wrong, since he was banished anyway (not a convincing argument). He confessed having written also to Grindelwald for the money which



was coming to him, and to his cousin Christen Feller, near Thun, inviting him to go with him to England to visit a relative. Concerning the letter from Philip Wild of Rotterdam,<sup>40</sup> he explained that the blacksmith Jacob Ritschard<sup>41</sup> had for several years back planned to go to Carolina, and had requested him to write for information to Rotterdam, which he did, asking Wild to reply to Ritschard. For himself he had done nothing, and was not minded to go back to Carolina, and no one could bear witness against him, saying that he had enticed anyone. Therefore he prayed for his release. This was on March 27, 1744.

The court sent Peter Inäbnit back into confinement. His prison was one of those picturesque old towers still standing in the city of Bern, the one still known as the *Käfigturm* (the cage-tower, i. e., prison-tower). The prisoner had many friends, and they were willing to aid him. They brought him food and wine; a tool for boring was smuggled in to him and a rope, by which he planned to let himself down and make his escape. Unfortunately an accident prevented the successful issue of his daring venture. The rope seems to have been securely fastened, but either the rope broke or the prisoner lost his hold. He was discovered lying bleeding and unconscious at the base of the tower. The abettor of emigration was carried to a neighboring inn, but never recovered speech or consciousness from after nine in the evening, when he was found, until seven in the morning, when he died. No sympathy was wasted on him by the rulers of Bern. "Owing to clearly proven and partly confessed crimes of the deceased, the body was ordered to be buried under the place of public execution", thus abruptly ends the chronicle of the career of Peter Inäbnit.<sup>42</sup>

Both men, Peter Huber and Peter Inäbnit, will be pardoned for their crimes by the American historian. Though dangerous to the interests of their home governments, they were indispensable helpers in the building up of the new colonies, of a new people. They were

<sup>40</sup> This letter to Peter Inäbnit was captured, according to a record in the *Ratsmanuale* of Bern, February 20, 1744. It seemed to prove that Inäbnit had instigated about 70 families to emigrate. On this evidence he was ordered to be arrested again. See *Guide*, p. 47.

<sup>41</sup> Ritschard was examined with others of the Huber group. As stated by Peter Inäbnit, Ritschard had for several years been anxious to go to Carolina. He denied that Huber had influenced him, but that a book on Carolina had started his interest. Ritschard claimed to have relatives in Holland (Leiden), whom he wished to see and from whom he expected assistance. See *Documents*, A, 3 (end).

<sup>42</sup> In *Documents*, A, 4, at the end, will be found statements of fellow-prisoners concerning Inäbnit, who is given a good character by them. Their accounts add a touch of intense realism to the tragic close.

unselfish in the main, aiding the poor to a condition of self-support, and their friends to social and economic betterment. There were many agents who were not of as high character, *e. g.*, Jacob Joner, whose selfishness and greed led him to attempt to acquire the inheritance of a fellow-countryman, as his trial at Basel in 1750 proved.<sup>43</sup> There were agents good and bad, and their activities were far more hidden, their methods far more subtle than has generally been supposed.

Next to emigrant agents, letters from colonists with favorable comments on the new country were considered the greatest danger. Letters of this kind as early as 1711 have survived,<sup>44</sup> and these were probably not the first.<sup>45</sup> These letters are typical for most that follow, telling of the agricultural wealth, the opportunities for cattle-raising, the liberty of body and soul, the high wages, also the hard work but sure returns. They do not conceal the perils of the sea, the loss of life, the scarcity of spiritual guidance, comforts, and pleasures, but all these drawbacks fade away in the presence of the heroic pioneer spirit, the colonial optimism, that pervade the letters. The example of one successful pioneer has greater force than the discouragement of half-a-dozen that fall by the wayside. The effect of such letters was not fully realized until the great waves of emigration set in during the early thirties of the eighteenth century. Then all possible causes of the "emigration-fever" were searched into, and letters were discovered to be a disease-breeding germ, if not the responsible bacillus. Measures were at once taken for their capture and extermination, letters were hunted and kidnapped, the bearers and recipients were punished if they refused to give them up. A few illustrations of governmental action will suffice. In 1737 Hans Georg Striker wrote a report on Carolina for Lieutenant Rubi in Thun; this letter was ordered to be seized and laid before the government of Bern.<sup>46</sup> In 1742 Peter Stoker's letters from Carolina were demanded of him. In the same year a letter from Carolina addressed to Daniel Kissling of Wattenwyl was ordered to be surrendered by the Ratsherren of Bern. On March 4, 1744,

<sup>43</sup> See *Guide*, p. 112 ff., etc.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. "Copia Unterschiedlicher Briefen auss Nord Carolina" (1711), included in the article: "The Graffenried Manuscripts", *German American Annals*, n. s., vol. XI., nos. 5, 6, September-December, 1913. The letters are here printed in full.

<sup>45</sup> The earliest Swiss settlers in America were probably some who had left their homes in the seventeenth century for the Palatinate, and subsequently joined groups of Palatines emigrating to America. From such, letters may have been received in Switzerland before 1711.

<sup>46</sup> Bern, RM., CLIII. 40-443.

the police of Bern were instructed to prevent the luring of emigrants by means of letters; it was the same day on which Bern asked Basel to take Peter Inäbnit prisoner. A fine of thirty pounds was to be inflicted on anyone who would not surrender such a letter without delay. On April 29, 1752, letters from Pennsylvania were ordered to be opened and copied. Anything unfavorable to the colonies should be published in the next issue of the annual calendar (*Der Hinkende Bote*).<sup>47</sup> The policy was widespread of suppressing the favorable passages of letters and publishing whatever was damaging. Thus one of the most critical, in parts vituperative, epistles,<sup>48</sup> one written by a disappointed woman, Esther Werndtlin, the widow of Pastor Götttschi (who died shortly after arriving in Philadelphia), was printed and widely circulated by Zürich and Basel.<sup>49</sup> Basel ordered (April 2, 1738) that copies be sent to all the country districts, to the preachers in every parish, and be made known to every subject desirous of emigrating to Pennsylvania. The number of letters with tidings of fortunate experiences in America was undoubtedly very much greater, judging by the mass of letters contained in the state-archive of Basel. Most of these unquestionably were confiscated letters,<sup>50</sup> held in the archives to prevent their circulation. It is not surprising, therefore, that Peter Huber (the country-folk of the Bernese Oberland were noted for their cleverness) carried letters in the false bottom of a drinking-vessel, specially constructed for the purpose of concealing written messages.

The policy of suppressing favorable news was also forced upon the newspapers. On October 8, 1736, the Council of Bern gave the following order: "Since the *Avis-Blättlin* [*Intelligencer*] has recently brought an article on Carolina, the editor is directed in the future not to publish any more reports on Carolina and the condition of the emigrants there. In any case nothing favorable about them shall be printed."<sup>51</sup> On February 6, 1738, the *Avisblätter* of Bern and Lausanne are commanded not to publish any of the reports coming from the neighboring Neuchâtel, in view of the propaganda coming from there.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> See *Guide*, pp. 46-49, etc.

<sup>48</sup> This letter dated Philadelphia, November 24, 1736, is reprinted among the documents accompanying this article, see Documents, C, 1. Some of the letters published in the *Hinkende Bote* of Bern, have also been included, see Documents, C, 2.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. *Guide*, pp. 30, 103, etc.

<sup>50</sup> A number of these appear in print for the first time among the accompanying Documents, see B, 1-6.

<sup>51</sup> Bern, RM., CLII. 224.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, CLVII. 122.

A further danger existed in the numerous books and pamphlets descriptive of the American colonies. The earliest actually received encouragement from Swiss governments, because information was desired. Thus Kocherthal's report, and Ochs's *Amerikanischer Wegweiser* (1711) were welcomed, and the latter rewarded. But though at that time emigration was not feared, even these did not fail to arouse a protest, as in the booklet: *Das verlangte und nicht erlangte Canaan bei den Lust-Gräbern . . . absonderlich dem . . . Kocherthalerischen Bericht wohlbedächtig entgegen gesetzt* (1711). Later it became the general practice to reply to every book that gave a favorable account and gained a circulation. Thus the eulogistic account of Carolina published in 1734: *Der nunmehr in der Neuen Welt vergnügt und ohne Heim-Wehe lebende Schweizer*, provoked the equally curious book: *Neue Nachricht alter und neuer Merkwürdigkeiten, enthaltend ein vertrautes Gespräch und sichere Briefe von der Landschaft Carolina und übrigen Englischen Pflanz-Städten in Amerika* (1734). The latter was in effect a denial of the one that went before, and was widely circulated by the governments to counteract the influence of its predecessor. Another booklet adopting the catching dialogue form of the *Neue Nachricht* and equally impressive in its warnings against the American colonies, was *Der Hinckende Bott von Carolina, oder Ludwig Webers von Wallissellen Beschreibung seiner Reise von Zürich gen Rotterdam* (1735), suggested by the unfortunate experiences of Pastor Götschi's group of emigrants from Zürich. The *Neu-Gefundenes Eden* (1737) was followed in the same year by *Christholds Gedanken, bey Anlász der Bewegung, welche die bekannte Beschreibung von Carolina, in Amerika, in unserm Land verursacht*. In this a Kingdom is named superior to the New Eden, toward which there is a beautiful voyage without sea-sickness, where there is eternal peace instead of wars, and where there is a great and just king, better than any ruler on this earth—and the reader is cautioned not to lose this Kingdom, which he might do by yielding to the seductions of the New Eden.<sup>53</sup>

The large amount of attention given to emigration, and the severe restrictive measures adopted by the Swiss governments of the eighteenth century, indicate that they were not contending for a mere abstract principle, but were dominated by the fear of an ever-present danger. It was not to them a question of losing a few hundred people annually, but of depopulation of whole country districts, as was threatening in the case of Eglisau in the canton of

<sup>53</sup> For a list of books and pamphlets belonging to this eighteenth-century emigration period, with full titles, see *Guide*, pp. 29–31, etc.

Zürich, or Oberhasli in the highlands of Bern. Had this panic fear sufficient foundation in fact? This question is difficult to answer, owing to the lack of accurate statistics. In the decade from 1753 to 1763, which was a period of only moderate emigration, about 10,000 persons left the canton of Bern, 4000 of whom were men entering foreign military service, and 6000 men and women emigrating to other countries.<sup>54</sup> The loss of 1000 persons annually was at least appreciable. The fact also, that recruiting in foreign regiments was constantly draining the country of men, undoubtedly made the governments more eager to stop the leakage caused by emigration.

The only accurate statistics which the writer was able to find in the Swiss archives, bearing on the question of the number of Swiss who came to the American colonies in the eighteenth century, was a carefully compiled list of emigrants from the canton of Zürich during the years 1734-1744.<sup>55</sup> The list furnishes names, with dates, home districts and destinations, and claims to be complete. The total number it records is 2300. This one reliable source furnishes a reasonable basis for an estimate of the total emigration to America in the eighteenth century. If there were 2300 names of recorded emigrants from the canton of Zürich, we must add about two hundred more for secret migration (those leaving without permission); this would give Zürich 2500. Since the canton of Bern was more populous, and emigration very prevalent, we may assign to Bern the number 3000. Basel in proportion to her population might be given 1500. Other cantons whose archives contain most evidences of emigration in the eighteenth century are: Aargau, Schaffhausen, Graubünden, and Solothurn. Together they probably equalled Zürich in population, therefore the number 2500 would fairly represent their emigration. The remaining cantons, mostly Catholic, did not have as large an emigration in the eighteenth century, if we can trust the fact that very few records of emigration from those quarters appear. The number 2500 would perhaps more than do them justice, though the population represented is more than three times that of Zürich. This would give a total of 12,000 emigrants for all of the Swiss cantons during the period 1734-1744. Now, these eleven years represent the high tide of Swiss emigration to the American colonies. It is not likely that the total emigration for the eighteenth century was more than twice this figure, judging by the records in the archives. It is the writer's opinion, therefore,

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Dr. E. Lerch, *Die Bernische Auswanderung nach Amerika im 18. Jahrhundert*, p. 31.

<sup>55</sup> Staatsarchiv, Zürich, A. 174. "Verzeichnisse der Ausgewanderten nach Carolina und Pennsylvanien 1734-1744". See *Guide*, p. 14.

that the emigration from Switzerland to the American colonies in the eighteenth century amounted to something like 25,000 persons, though the discovery of additional data might change this estimate to a figure above or below the one assumed.

Numerical estimates of eighteenth-century emigration appear strangely diminutive when compared with the statistics of the nineteenth century. The United States reports, running back to 1820, show a total Swiss immigration up to 1910 of over 250,000. A strong current set in about 1816, during a period of economic depression (*das Hungerjahr*). The emigration from Switzerland fluctuated in the nineteenth century. From hundreds annually it rose to over 1500 in 1828, dropped, and rose again to about 1400 in 1834; starting again strongly in 1852 with nearly 3000, it rose to 8000 in 1854, dropped to 4500 in 1855, and much lower in succeeding years, until the high-water mark came in the eighties, beginning with over 6000 in 1880, and reaching the crest in 1883 with 12,751. From 1880 to 1886, over 61,000 Swiss arrived in the United States. Recently the average has been about 3000 annually. The embargo upon emigration was removed by the Swiss cantons in the nineteenth century. Periodic conditions of overpopulation, failure of crops, and hard times, recurring in certain districts, showed plainly that, far from being a cause of fear, emigration might prove an advantage to a vigorous people increasing rapidly, yet confined within narrow borders. Complaints from seaport towns in France, Holland, and Germany, calling attention to the congregating of masses of poor people waiting to embark, and subsequently the objections of the United States to the deportation of undesirable classes, brought about a regulation of emigration from Switzerland. The policy was adopted, neither to encourage nor to discourage emigration, but to let it take its course, and to protect the emigrant against the selfishness of speculators, and the consequences of his own ignorance. The business of transporting the emigrant was left in the hands of agencies, who were required to secure a license and to obey the laws. In 1880 the Federal Emigration Bureau (*Eidgenössisches Auswanderungsamt*) was established at Bern to control the licensed agencies, to enforce justice and provide helpful information. This represents the modern solution of a problem so exasperating to the cantonal governments of the eighteenth century.

ALBERT B. FAUST.



## THE GROWTH OF NATIONALISM IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE<sup>1</sup>

A CANADIAN who speaks to a company of Americans on problems of the British Empire usually feels under certain obligations to explain himself. It is not easy for Americans to understand why Canada remains linked with Great Britain. Canada is the only considerable state in America to retain a political tie with Europe. Since there was a time when all America was an appendage of Europe, it looks as if Canada is only a little belated and as if she has not yet found her political destiny. Every Canadian is aware of a certain condescension on the part of his American friends, the counterpart of what Mr. Lowell felt that foreigners showed to Americans. Occasionally one hears a suggestion that Great Britain should sell Canada to the United States. In a legal case in New York the other day Canada was described as "a colony or dependency of Great Britain".

A friend of mine, who held high office in the United States, used to offer me well-meant consolation as to the outlook for Canada. "The Constitution of the United States", he would say, "is almost a perfect instrument. You will be happy under it. Your obvious destiny is to join us. We do not wish to hasten the process. But our arms are open and we shall embrace you warmly when you come." What could be more alluring? I was so cruel as to say to him that Canada was reasonably happy in her existing relations, that the federal constitution of Canada has merits, even when put side by side with that of the United States, that the Canadians are a perfectly free people, with their destiny entirely in their own hands, and that they are helping to work out a political experiment as momentous for mankind as is the notable experiment in liberty which is being made by the United States. It is true that there are anomalies and apparent contradictions in the position of Canada. Her business at Washington is done, not through her own ambassador, but through the ambassador of Great Britain. Canada has no power to declare war and is technically at war whenever Great Britain is at war. But theories and their applications represent very different things. Canada takes just as much share in the wars of the British Empire as she chooses to take. In truth, too, the British ambas-

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read by the author at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Washington, December 31, 1915.

sador at Washington represents the views of Ottawa as really as he represents the views of London. May I ask my American friends to learn to think of Canada as a nation, not a colony, and not to waste any pity upon her, for she is a free partner in a gigantic political movement of which I now speak.

My topic is the Growth of Nationalism in the British Empire and I am confronted at the outset with the fact that, as far as the self-governing states of the British Commonwealth are concerned, there is really no such thing as a British Empire. An empire, one would suppose, is a state which has a central controlling government. But although the British Parliament is, in a strictly legal sense, supreme over all British dominions, there is no central government for the whole British Empire. No one body can tax the British Empire. Canada and Australia and New Zealand and South Africa are not governed from London, nor have they any common government. Each of these states governs itself exactly as it likes. As long ago as in 1858 when Canada imposed a high tariff on British goods and the government at London protested, there was no uncertain sound about the reply of Canada. It asserted "the right of the Canadian Legislature to adjust the taxation of the people in the way they deem best, even if it should unfortunately happen to meet the disapproval of the Imperial Ministry". It is not easy to describe as an "Empire" the state in which the different parts are so completely self-governing. "The British Commonwealths" would be a more descriptive name and I will ask my hearers to remember that I use the words "British Empire" with practically this signification. The part of the Empire of which I am speaking is in truth a group of free commonwealths.

The most interesting growth in the British Empire during the nineteenth century was that in the self-government and individuality of the various British peoples. Whatever we may mean by nationalism, there was certainly very little of it in the British Empire a hundred years ago. The American Revolution removed from the Empire the only element over-seas that could make any claim to self-government. After that tragic cleavage between the English-speaking races, almost no people of British origin were left outside the home land. In Canada, even including the Loyalist refugees from the revolted colonies, there were less than one hundred thousand. The same is true of the West Indies, relatively more important then than now. In India there were not half this number. And this was the whole tale of British people over-seas. Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, as we know them, did not then exist. There is little

wonder that the successful revolutionists of the United States should feel a fine scorn of the Britons in Canada who would not join them. These seemed to be misguided supporters of a lost cause. A tyrannous mother-land had forfeited all right to the allegiance of her sons over-seas, and successful revolution called the Canadians craven, since they did not join in the fight for liberty.

It was, indeed, in the half-century after the Revolution that there was a real and united British Empire, for every part of it was governed from London. It is true that never after her loss in America did Britain attempt to tax her colonies. They were to her a costly burden. What we now know as the Dominion of Canada consisted of four or five detached provinces, each insignificant, each really ruled by a governor sent out from England, each backward and almost stagnant. Little thought as yet had any of the colonies that they were new nations, with the same rights of self-government which Britons at home possessed. Yet was there a something working in these communities which had promise for the future. Each of them had its own legislature; each had the storm and tumult of elections, in which there were free speech and free voting. The elected members, however, did not control the executive government; that was the affair of the governor and of the Colonial Office in London, which appointed him.

With the growth of population came changes. By 1830 there was a clamorous demand in Upper and Lower Canada for complete control by the people of their own local affairs. The controversy was violent. In 1837 and 1838 it led to armed rebellion by the radical element which asked for full political rights. Though the rebellion was put down, the cause apparently lost was really won. A dozen years later, that is by the middle of the century, every British community in North America had secured control of its own affairs. The movement spread to other continents. Australia followed quickly. Canada was the older British dominion and naturally led the way, but the British colonial system as a whole was changed, and by the mid-century its self-governing states in all parts of the world were really freer than had been the former English colonies in America.

This very change, however, brought a danger to the British system. Why should the mother-land take any trouble to preserve a tie with communities which brought her little advantage? They erected hostile tariffs against her goods, they were a charge upon her revenues, they were perennially relying upon her army and fleet for defense. Canada was frequently involved in disputes with the

United States. In 1837-1838 there were frontier incidents which might well have caused war. A few years later there was the question of the boundary line in Maine. Then came that of the western boundary with the insistent demand of American pioneers in the West of "Fifty-four forty or fight", which meant that all south of this degree of latitude should go to the United States on penalty of war. There is perhaps not much wonder that British statesmen should have thought a self-governing over-seas empire not worth having. Gladstone told Goldwin Smith that the cession of Canada to the United States would not be an impossible compensation to the North if the South should break away. Beaconsfield, Gladstone's great rival, hoped at one time that the troublesome colonies would become independent. When this was done Britain would be left with no European peoples over-seas but only with races of alien blood and faith whom she could really rule.

Then, just when these depressing views were most current, a strange thing happened. The half-torpid colonies in North America suddenly revealed a new life and a new wisdom. They shook off their narrow isolation and formed a great federation. Fear had much to do with it. The United States, recently torn by civil war, was likely to become a great military nation, a menace to the British communities on its northern border. Because of this and of impotence and deadlock in their own political affairs the British colonies united to form one great state. By 1871, the union of once scattered colonies extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In this movement, if men could have read it aright, was the birth of a new conception of the British commonwealths. But this meaning was not seen at once. The old idea of the subordination of the colonies to the mother-land still survived for a long time. The movement for separation was, however, quickly checked. It was one thing for British statesmen to look on blandly while a few scattered colonies broke away; but quite another thing to let a country like Canada go with four million people. After all, trade tended to follow the flag and thus, even on lower commercial grounds, it would be a bad thing to end the colonial relation. There were other reasons, too, and one of them, most potent of all, was that, even though Great Britain might be willing to let go of Canada, Canada had no wish to let go of Britain.

Here we come upon one of the unexpected things in this strange British Empire. The old assumption was that when the new states were strong enough to stand alone they would wish to do so and would break away from the mother-country. But this represented

only the coldly intellectual view of politics. In fact, political loyalties have as much to do with the heart as with the head. It never occurred to the average Canadian, even when his country reached national stature, that he could not remain both a Canadian and a Briton. The British flag had always been his. Why should he change? True, he was a Canadian first, for Canada was the country he knew. Britain he had probably never seen, and he understood but little of a state of society in which there was an aristocracy, a House of Lords, and an established church. Still he saw no reason why he should break with the old home of his race and no movement for separation would come from him.

There was, too, a strong political drift against change. Union was in the air at the time the federation of Canada was created. This event followed immediately upon the reunion of the United States after the Civil War. The North-German Confederation was formed in the very year in which the British North America Act, creating the Dominion of Canada, passed the British Parliament. Four years later Italy was finally united. In the next year, 1871, came the creation of the German Empire. This was followed quickly by an eager ambition among European states to secure colonies. Trade rivalries were keen, markets were needed, and markets under the same flag seemed to be more secure than markets under an alien flag. It thus happened that the ungracious permission offered to the colonies about 1860 that they might go when they liked, and the sooner the better, had become by 1890, thirty years later, the rather nervous fear that they might take themselves off and leave Great Britain to a lonely sovereignty over a dependent empire ten times more populous than herself.

During all this time the movement was growing for union within the Empire on the lines of the Canadian union. In 1900 the six Australian states united to form a great commonwealth. Most wonderful of all, less than ten years later, the four colonies of war-worn South Africa formed a great Union more centralized and consolidated than any of the other unions in the British Empire. In no case, however, was union effected with the view of breaking away from the Empire. Rather was the design to draw closer together. Yet each union represented a distinct type and was brought about in conformity with local conditions. Here then is the paradox which is characteristic of the British commonwealths. The more they become separate in type the more they hold together.

I have not forgotten that my topic is the growth of nationalism in the British Empire and I ask myself whether nationalism both

makes the self-governing states of the Empire different from each other and also holds them together. For the moment I shall not try to define nationalism. There is no doubt that one environment tends to differentiate a whole people from those in another environment. The Canadian is different from the Australian and both are different from the Englishman. The differences are physical and they are also mental. The man who has seen the society about him created in his own generation will have a view of social relations different from that of a man born into a highly organized society, with ancient buildings, traditions, and gradations of rank. It is easier for an Englishman than it is for a Canadian to show deference and respect. The Canadian, in turn, is a citizen of a lesser state and is humbled commercially by contact with a great neighbor much more highly organized than himself. The Australian, supreme in his lonely continent in the Southern Sea, has no old local traditions and no neighbors. He creates his own standards and believes in himself. When shown Westminster Abbey he may murmur, "Ah, but you ought to see the Presbyterian Church at Ballarat!" He is subtly different from the other types. The difference is not racial, for the race is the same. It is the difference caused by conditions and it will increase with time. You will not flatter the Australian by calling him an Englishman. He wishes to be known as what he is, an Australian. In this respect his nationalism is complete.

This, however, is not the whole story. This man, so thoroughly himself in his southern home, is passionately a Briton and one in feeling with all other Britons. This has always become apparent in any crisis, and especially in that of war. If anyone still had doubts, the amazing unity shown in the present war furnishes the answer. The thoughtful Australian or the Canadian will deny that he owes any loyalty to the British Isles. He feels this no more than the Englishman feels loyalty to Canada. Each of them is satisfied to be loyal to himself and they hold together because, on great national issues, they have the same outlook. I am a little puzzled when I try to explain why this unity exists. No doubt it is largely the result of education, of habitually surveying questions from a certain point of view. Probably its deepest cause lies in unbroken tradition. Each of us is set in the midst of a system in which many forces are uniting to shape our conception of life. British political liberty has had a slow growth. The religious outlook, the education, the social relations, the tastes and habits of to-day come to us from a long past. In some such way as this is the note struck that



we call British. All the scattered British commonwealths share it, and though there are different types, widely scattered, they have the unity of a family.

This unity is not racial. Racial unity is necessarily limited to those whom birth has made members of the race. Thus it cannot become comprehensive and cosmopolitan. A racial nationalism involves either isolation, or the supremacy of a dominant race in a mixed state. It tends to run to pride and arrogance, to thoughts like those of the Hebrew that his race is the chosen of God. When the British Empire was younger we used to hear a good deal about the triumphant destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race. But, of late years, this note has rarely been heard and instead we hear something at once more tangible and more vital. At one time we seemed to seek uniformity partly, perhaps, because we assumed unity of race. It was held that political wisdom required in Canada and in Australia an exact copy of Britain. Canada was to have a House of Lords and an established church. Experience, the truest of all teachers, dispelled this dream, and, in time, not likeness but diversity of institutions was emphasized and little thought was given to race. We know now and we are proud that no one part of the British Empire can be quite like any other part. When we ask why, the answer is that this is the fruit of Liberty. Nature herself is infinitely varied and, when men are free, when they adjust themselves to the varieties of Nature, they evolve differences. To-day no wise statesman has any thought of trying to anglicize the British Empire.

The wonder-worker is thus not race but Liberty. Let us dismiss forever the superstition that there is any magic in race to hold people together and effect political unity. In the present war the most determined and irreconcilable opponents are two great states of the same Teutonic race. It is partnership in common liberties which unites people. Ireland oppressed was the obstinate foe of England; Ireland free stands by her side in a great struggle. Here then is the reconciler and the unifier in the life of nations. We dismiss the phantom of race and put in its place, as the basis of political organization, the solid reality of education as that on which the best life of the nations must be established—education in judgment, responsibility, and self-control. The growth of the new nationalism in the British Empire is just the growth of liberty.

At the present time the British Empire represents almost exactly one-fourth both of the population and of the area of the world. The population of the world is about 1,720,000,000, of which Britain has about 433,000,000; the area is 51,230,000 square miles, of which

Britain has about 13,000,000. The British Empire is nearly evenly divided between the northern and the southern hemispheres. Two-thirds of it are in the East and only one-third is in the West. The chief seat of power is in the West but nearly six-sevenths of the people of the British Empire are not Europeans. The proportion of people of European origin is likely to grow since they hold for occupation nearly two-thirds of the whole area of the British Empire, with vast unoccupied spaces still to be peopled. It is a vital characteristic of the Empire that it constitutes a link between the East and the West. It is less a creation than a growth, a growth out of conditions and necessities into a system unprecedented in the history of the world. It has become a microcosm of the world itself. It includes people of every race and of every creed. No other state has ever held such vast areas in every continent—almost half of North America, nearly the half of Africa, nearly the whole of Australasia, and a great part of Asia. In Europe alone is the territory of the Empire comparatively small in magnitude. There are in it more than three times as many Hindus and nearly twice as many Moslems as there are Christians.

Shall this Empire break up or shall it hold together? Is it a sacred duty to preserve it? In this connection let me ask my American hearers a question. If the republic, in the slow growth of years, had founded kindred republics in every continent, had fostered and protected them, had dreamed dreams about what this union of free peoples would do for mankind, would you willingly let this union end in disruption? To-day British citizenship is the most wonderful in all the world for it makes the Briton at home in every continent. Suppose that an American, sailing eastward, found himself in another United States in Europe under the Stars and Stripes. Suppose that he went on by sea and found himself in South Africa and still in the United States under his own flag. Suppose that he sailed on and found himself in India with more than three hundred millions of people still under the Stars and Stripes. Suppose that he went on to the great continent of Australia and found still his flag, on to New Zealand, on still across the Pacific to America, where he has his home, a half continent still under the Stars and Stripes. In every one of these states he has been a citizen, needing no change of allegiance in order to vote. Is there not something in such a picture to stir the blood? Is it thinkable that such a union should perish? And this is the British Empire.

The growth of nationalism does not mean the break-up but the strengthening of this Empire, for Liberty unites and Nationalism is

just the expression of Liberty. It is true that an occasional traveller will tell you that he has been in the Canadian West or in Australia or in South Africa and that he has found the people there not English at all, critical indeed of the English, and resolved to go their own way. No doubt this is all exactly true and the truth causes not dismay but rejoicing to the discerning Briton. For, let it be said again with emphasis, the Empire is not an English Empire and the English are only one of many peoples in it. The union of the British Empire is best assured by building up various centres of strength, one, if you will, in each continent, rejoicing in its independence and perfect freedom. No state, really free, is going to cut itself off from the supporting brotherhood of other free states. Modern politics have taught no lesson more clearly than this, that the safety and dignity of nations is to be found, not in standing alone, but in standing together; and the nations within the British Empire are not blind. Each of them does as it likes. Even for this great war the finances of the Empire have not been pooled. Great Britain may be spending \$200 a year for each head of its population while Canada may be spending only \$40. Of every eight of its people Great Britain is enlisting one while in Canada the proportion may remain only one in twenty-five. Australia has a different ratio. South Africa follows another plan and India still another. No Parliament controls them all. In the impossible event of a dispute as to authority between the Canadian and the British Parliament the Canadians would flout the British Parliament and obey their own. If Canada was told that she *must* remain within the British Empire she would probably assert her liberty and go out. It is a free union and if compulsion began union would end.

The union will not end. The long growth of liberty has brought forth something stable. Deep in the souls of the British peoples there are common aspirations and resolves. Though the South African War might have taught us otherwise, two years ago many only hoped that this was true. Two years ago it was common to hear a discussion of the extent to which Canada would take part in wars in which Britain might become involved. When the real shock came it was found that no one cared for a nicely balanced measure of more or less. It became clear that unconsciously the British peoples had pledged their all to each other and that the family of nations was resolved to stand or fall together. Since then many a blood-stained battlefield has been witness to the stern gravity of this pledge. War has blown away mists of disunion. It has shown a reality in the spiritual unity of the British peoples which makes it a great force of nature.

My discussion has had to do only with the self-governing commonwealths of the Empire. Of the dependent Empire, the peoples who have not yet grown to the stature of self-government, I say only this, that the expansion of their liberties will help, not hurt, the union of British commonwealths. The practical British spirit distrusts the enthusiasm of the doctrinaire. The exercise of liberty requires education and not all peoples are yet fit to be self-governing. In political development, Asia is more backward than Europe. Already, however, India has the beginnings of representative institutions. The best aim of man upon the earth must surely be to live a free, varied, and fruitful existence. Nothing is farther from the minds of those who are pondering the future than that the present dependent Empire shall be always dependent. They do not believe that the East must remain subordinate to the West. The British Empire links East and West and the West hopes to pass on to the East its own education in freedom and thus to bridge the chasm between the two sections of mankind. The Empire is a great school of political life and even in the lowest classes of the school there should be some training in self-government. No uniformity is aimed at but rather the free expression of individualism. However slow the movement may be, it is yet true that India has learned richer liberties during the last hundred years of its existence than it acquired during all the long centuries before the time of British rule.

I should not wish my note of optimism to give the impression that all difficulties have been solved, all liberties won. Defects still mark the British system and the chief of them is that, in respect to matters in which the British commonwealths must stand together, there is no organ to express their will. In domestic affairs the commonwealths may have the widest differences. Canada is for protection, Great Britain is for free trade. Canada puts restrictions upon immigration from certain countries, Great Britain keeps her doors wide open. Thoughtful students of the life of the commonwealths agree that differences in tariffs, differences in the franchise, differences in social outlook, may grow even more marked without any breach of unity. But to other nations on the question of war or peace the Empire must speak with one voice and its complexity of interests, each to be considered, must always ensure many voices urging peace. It is precisely on these affairs that the people of all the states of the Empire have in the past had least to say, so that all alike have left their fate in the hands of a few leaders. But this cannot continue. In the future the people of Great Britain will insist on a more popular control of foreign affairs. It will also soon

be as impossible for the United Kingdom to conduct the foreign affairs of Canada as it would be to conduct those of the United States. The question will have a practical solution at the close of the present war. Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa have all made conquests during the war and will have an important voice in the final decisions respecting these conquests. It is still true, however, that on the eventful fourth of August, 1914, the issues of war and peace were decided not by any pronouncement of the British commonwealths but by the Parliament of the United Kingdom alone. It is equally true, of course, that if the other parliaments had not approved of the declaration of war they need have taken no decisive action to support it. But it is desirable that all the self-governing peoples of the Empire should have a voice on so grave an issue and a change of method is therefore necessary.

During recent years these questions have been under consideration by the very able group of men who conduct the quarterly known as the *Round Table*. It has never happened that a political question has had given to it more patient and serious thought than is now brought to bear on the relations of the British commonwealths. They stand together for security and not for trade advantages. A common tariff is not thought possible. Canada and Great Britain, for instance, are in different stages of commercial development and must be left free to impose what duties they like against both each other and the outside world. The prevailing opinion in the younger commonwealths supports giving to Great Britain a preference (in Canada it amounts to one-third of the duty) for her manufactures. It is held by some that a high tariff in Canada even against British goods will aid British trade if a higher tariff is charged against the outside world. Experience shows that protected countries are heavy importers and that a preference would ensure great markets within the Empire to British trade. But trade is secondary to the need of unity for security. Security, however, is not the whole story. There is an even deeper and a finer motive, a motive based on the duty of peoples more advanced to give support to those, as yet, less favored, and in doing so to purify themselves.

No final policy can yet be proclaimed but I can best show the growth of nationalism in the British Empire by stating what is seriously proposed. Two things must be counted vital:

1. The self-government and the equality of the separate commonwealths are alike necessary. If any obstacles exist which keep Canada and Australia from being as completely self-governing as the United Kingdom, such obstacles must be removed and equality

of status must be made unquestionable. It is to be noted that opinion in the United Kingdom is as insistent upon this point as opinion in Canada and Australia.

2. This equality must carry with it a complete sharing of responsibilities. At present the Parliament of the United Kingdom is different from the Parliament of Canada in that it has jurisdiction not only over the British Isles but also over the whole Empire. It is proposed that the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall become such strictly, with authority confined to the United Kingdom, and that a real Imperial Parliament shall be created to be composed of the representatives of the whole self-governing Empire. This Parliament would be limited to three functions.

(a) It would conduct the foreign affairs of the whole Empire and decide the issues of war and peace.

(b) It would, as a corollary of this function, control and direct the armed forces of the Empire.

(c) It would govern the dependent Empire, now governed solely by the United Kingdom.

To discharge its functions this Parliament would have the power to levy taxes for national defense. The rate need not necessarily be uniform for all parts of the Empire but would be the subject of negotiation and agreement. The existing parliaments might collect the taxes agreed upon. The Empire would be a unit in respect to its defense.

I am stating what is proposed and do not necessarily endorse it all. My own mind, indeed, is still open on the main issues. There are grave difficulties in regard both to taxation and to the parts of the Empire not yet self-governing. This, however, is the point to which the growth of nationalism has come—that the commonwealths of the Empire are to be precisely equal nations, sharing responsibility for the Empire as a whole. Canada is to have world responsibilities as broad as those of Great Britain. One-quarter of the people and of the land of this planet is to constitute a great state of many nations, secure and strong. East and West, North and South, the old peoples and the new peoples, are to hold together and each part is to be encouraged to mature its own liberty on its own lines.

The British Empire has learned something from its misfortunes. While the building process was going on, not much thought was given to the deeper meaning of the whole. Such an interpretation needs profound study and an almost inspired insight. It is not safe to take the writings of even a generation ago as in any way adequate



to the thought of to-day. The Empire was not, as it has been foolishly expressed, created in a fit of absent-mindedness, but rather was created by a people too intent upon action to realize the full meaning of what they were doing. To-day it stands a complex fabric. It is American as well as European, of the East as well as of the West. There is to be an eternal rejuvenescence of the old by contact and co-operation with the young, a steadying of the young by the maturer wisdom and culture of the old. This Empire, itself the product of no far-seeing design but only a natural growth, has no aim further to enlarge its borders. It is already vast beyond precedent and to develop its own resources, cure its own defects, and enlarge the happiness of its members will furnish to it tasks for all the centuries to come. Its best spirits aim at no racial supremacy. They believe in the stability which comes through liberty. Cynics will say that only dreamers can hope in such a plan. But this promise for the future is, in truth, less wonderful than what has already been achieved in bringing so many lands under a single sovereignty. At any rate the British Empire has some vital import for mankind as a whole. It is not to be spoken of in any note of exultation in its power or greatness but rather in terms of its responsibilities and duties.

GEORGE M. WRONG.

THE INFLUENCE OF MANUFACTURES UPON POLITICAL SENTIMENT IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1820 TO 1860<sup>1</sup>

How far strictly economic influences have directed the course of our political history will always be variously judged by different students, but increasing research will probably add to our present estimate of their effect. Many literary historians, and most readers of history, are so attracted by the personality of leaders and statesmen, by broad expressions of national policy, and by the dramatic episodes of the country's tragedies and triumphs, that they neglect the dry commonplaces of business annals. But leaders and statesmen attain power and prominence, and national policies acquire meaning, through consulting that material welfare which is recorded in market quotations and ledger balances, and even the moral enthusiasm and heroic sacrifices of national crises are inspired remotely or immediately by economic causes. This paper will sketch briefly some effects of one such influence, the expansion of manufactures, upon American political sentiment for a few decades prior to the Civil War.

Until the second peace with England our manufacturing industries were so slightly differentiated from other forms of production that they hardly constituted an independent interest. Each rural household was a centre of handicrafts and each village community had its corps of manufacturing artisans. But the activity or cessation of these family and neighborhood occupations did not determine the prosperity of any class of people or of any section of the country. Some sentiment in favor of tariff protection had existed among groups of city workmen from the time when non-importation taught them the personal benefits of restricted European competition. Likewise the lessons of two wars with the mother-country had convinced many thinking men that industrial independence was a necessary adjunct of political independence; and even Thomas Jefferson, disinclined as he was to extend the functions of government, had come to believe that public aid of home manufactures might be required for national security. Three of the confederated states, and later the federal Congress, had passed customs laws that incidentally

<sup>1</sup> This paper, in substantially its present form, was read at the last annual meeting of the American Historical Association, in Washington, December 28, 1915.

to providing public revenue were intended to encourage domestic industry. But in 1815, when unimpeded avenues were reopened to our foreign commerce, popular opinion in the United States was still apathetic to national measures for promoting manufactures.

Within a very few years, however, a widespread sentiment was awakened in favor of home industry. This sentiment formed a new political influence and for a time controlled the policy of the government. When a democracy suddenly makes a new idea, or an old idea long neglected, the mainspring of its political action, the causes producing this effect must touch the interest of many people. Disregarding minor motives, two such general influences combined to sway public opinion in this new direction. These were a protracted business depression and an organized body of manufacturers.

A flood of foreign merchandise had swamped our markets as soon as peace with England was declared. Similar waves of imports swept over the Atlantic after the colonial wars and the Revolution; but in these earlier periods such goods competed mainly with homespun products and did not cause a manufacturing crisis. However, they occasioned business depressions by forcing Americans to export coin in payment for their excessive purchases abroad and thus creating a scarcity of money. In 1815 both these conditions had changed. The industries depressed by foreign competition had been partly transferred from households to factories, and the economic distress that ensued was characterized by unemployment, loss of capital in manufacturing investments, and the other features, then novel but now familiar, common to all industrial panics. But the depressing effect of the crisis upon agriculture and commerce was delayed by large shipments of American produce abroad, and by an inflation of bank paper; so that for a time money continued plentiful. Nevertheless the shrinkage of currency, though postponed, just as inevitably occurred, and the ultimate embarrassment of trade and the fall of prices were fully as great as if the stimulant of excessive note issues had never been applied to business.

When in our earlier post-bellum crises excessive importations and bad fiscal policies embarrassed the people, the popular remedy was to foster homespun industries. Spinning crazes occurred; families in town as well as country plied the wheel and loom with added application; and private societies and public authorities established premiums and bounties to encourage domestic manufactures. It was natural therefore that during the hard times after the second war with England people should resort to analogous measures to restore prosperity.

This reversion to an old policy, modified though it was by the changed organization of manufactures, was rendered easier by the fact that our mills and factories continued in almost as intimate touch with rural life as were the homespun industries that preceded them, and that still persisted in many parts of the country. No local displacement of operative labor had yet occurred, because nearly every village water-power had its mill, or forge, or incipient factory, that drew its workers from the neighboring farms. Many a farmer himself was a part owner in these enterprises, and they afforded him a market for his produce. Therefore in the North and East a manufacturing interest had arisen distinct enough to demand special treatment by the government, but so identified with rural welfare as to work in political harmony with the agricultural population.

For a time the public influence of this new interest was retarded by its very dispersion and consequent lack of organization. But during the recent war with England manufacturing had enrolled new recruits from the old and respected commercial aristocracy. Merchants like Francis Lowell were the first successful representatives of domestic industry at Washington. Such men, with the diplomatic temper bred by commerce and familiar with the broader problems of trade and finance, were needed to combine persuasive arguments of public policy with the personal demands of particular clients. These spokesmen soon became powerful propagandists of the group of political theories that centred around protection.

It is not our purpose to trace the early rise of high-tariff sentiment further. Our object is rather to call attention to the theory of national government that this new manufacturing interest adopted. The old Federalists were not generally protectionists. Their nationalism, so far as it was shaped by economic considerations, was determined by commercial motives—and foreign trade and domestic manufactures were recognized as antagonistic interests. Indeed some New England Federalists had boycotted the products of our infant industries, because these helped people to withstand the hardships inflicted by such Republican measures as the embargo and non-intercourse. The reaction against Federalism that followed the war with England possibly assisted in winning the temporary support of the planting states for our first protective tariffs. On the other hand Whig nationalism was based in no small part upon an economic policy dictated by manufacturing interests; it strove to strengthen central authority because the federal power alone could protect domestic industries; and the existence of these industries as a distinct, organized, and effective political force assisted materially

to establish in the popular mind the Whig conception of our national government as an inseparable union of states, each of which had complementary but subordinate legislative and administrative functions.

Three presidential terms saw the culmination and decline of the early protective movement. High-tariff policies encountered opposition based ostensibly upon constitutional theories, but in fact upon the discordant economic interests of different parts of the country. Where staple agriculture reigned supreme, or where the prosperity of many people depended on seagoing pursuits, hostility to laws favoring domestic manufactures was strong. Ship-building Maine and cotton-growing South Carolina joined hands in this antagonism. Cotton already had made the South a commercial appanage of Great Britain, and the old suspicion that England might develop cotton-growing areas under the British flag had ceased to trouble the dreams of Southern planters. But the wool-producing states had a different interest. Tariffs practically prohibitive kept their grain and provisions out of British markets and there was no other reciprocity between the Northern farmer and the English manufacturer. American wool was sold exclusively to American mills, and thousands of sheep-raisers in the North and West believed they must protect these establishments to preserve their own prosperity, and extended this theory by implication to other industries.

Already, however, the tie between the farmer and the manufacturer was being loosened. The latter had begun to go abroad for raw materials, and industrial companies were evolving a new form of organization. American corporation law had been rapidly modified in response to manufacturing needs, and big companies and what were then considered giant factories were attracting the attention and the hostility of the common people. Attacks upon the United States Bank and its supposed plutocratic control of the government about this time engendered popular suspicion of all large business enterprises. Theories, arguments, and epithets that we regard as novel in their recent application to industrial trusts are only parodies of those employed against the first million-dollar corporations that about 1830 began to enter the field of manufacturing. But though popular distrust of this new form of capitalism weakened somewhat the early sympathy between Northern farmers and mill-owners, their common interests continued strong enough in most industrial districts to maintain their political solidarity.

Meantime large factories, furnaces, and workshops attracted population as well as capital, and became the principal integrating force in our national life, while plantation agriculture dispersed

population, scattered settlement into new territories, continued frontier conditions, and was a centrifugal or disintegrating social influence. Consequently during the twenty years following the second war with England the fact that manufacturing was a sectional interest became increasingly apparent. Particular industries were identified with particular localities, and geographical antipathies were caused or emphasized by conscious diversity of economic pursuits. It goes beyond our subject to venture a judgment whether slavery did or did not prevent manufacturing in the plantation states; but the differentiation of industry between the North and the South would have been a sufficient reason, without the presence of that institution, to explain the different attitudes of their people toward public policies, and consequently their different theories of government.

One result of the diversity of economic interest that grew up between the two parts of the country during these years, was that the South assumed an attitude toward the North somewhat similar to that earlier taken by the American colonies toward England. During the tariff controversies that culminated with nullification the Southern people tried to adopt a non-importation policy with regard to Northern manufactures; states passed laws discriminating against the products of Northern workshops; and a popular propaganda of home industries actually caused some new spinning mills to be established in the Carolina uplands.

Meantime, however, opposition to protective tariffs gained political ascendancy. This legislation had been adopted in part as a remedy for hard times, and its declining popularity coincided with the era of exceptional prosperity that blessed the country for a few years before the crisis of 1837. But though the manufacturing interest lost control of Congress, it retained enough political power to keep its antagonists on an alert and prepared defensive. In 1842, aided by the popular discontent caused by a protracted business depression, a high-tariff party was again able to embody its theories in customs laws. But this return to the policies of the twenties lasted only four years. The centralization of manufacturing in large plants and contracted areas had increased. Many small mills survived, but their owners looked with distrust upon these big competitors, and in some respects harmony of interest existed less among manufacturers and between manufacturers and farmers, than at an earlier period. It resulted that from 1846 to 1860 our tariff laws made protection of manufactures incidental to revenue considerations.



Nevertheless the share of the nation's productive energy devoted to industrial pursuits continued to increase. The early political dominance of manufacturers was due to the absence of organized opposition. Their policies were not yet seen to conflict seriously with other interests. Therefore they temporarily wielded an influence beyond their natural strength. But after the middle of the century evidences multiplied that a necessary process of economic evolution would ultimately give manufacturing interests permanent political preponderance. This fact was clouded by the great immediate importance of slavery and secession, but it was perhaps more fundamental than either of these questions. Nature had set a narrower limit to the extension of agriculture than to the growth of factories, and this limit was narrowest of all where agriculture was geographically dissociated from manufacturing. Without seeing clearly this broad fact, that the centre of gravity of production was in all civilized nations shifting from the field to the factory, the statesmen of the South perceived that their section of the country had lost stride with the North in the march of economic progress. At an earlier day they had decried manufactures as physically and morally injurious to a free citizenry, and even as threatening the integrity of our political institutions. They now advocated them as a means of sustaining the South's relative importance in wealth, population, and political power. The Whig party in the South was naturally attracted to this movement, because it coincided with its traditional policy; but advocates like Calhoun were inspired by considerations of sectional security. In the same way that early Republicans, like Jefferson, laid aside a theoretical dislike of manufacturing in favor of its encouragement, when they saw that this might be necessary to prevent Great Britain from controlling the economic welfare, and possibly the political destiny, of the nation; so Southern leaders who foresaw possible secession from the Union sought to strengthen their section against the North by promoting manufacturing industries. Nor is it improbable that secession was advocated by some Southern mill-owners because they thought that an autonomous South would protect them from Northern competitors.

Meantime Union sentiment was fortified in the North by the fear that an independent Southern government would deprive our manufacturers of their protected market in the planting states. A similar solicitude for western markets for its factory products had already mitigated the early jealousy felt by New England of the growing states beyond the Alleghenies, and in those two sections of the country separatist sentiment had disappeared with the recognition of their common economic interests.

Only a few features of the influence of manufactures upon American political sentiment have been suggested. The main question before our people for more than half a century after the national government was established was whether that government should endure. Voluntary political co-operation upon so large a scale had never before been attempted. For a time manufacturing with its strictly local affiliations increased the economic diversity of the country and added to its sectional discord. But manufacturing is the most highly co-operative form of production, the form most dependent upon an efficient government for its growth and prosperity. Our evolution from a predominantly agricultural to an agricultural and industrial state was also a process of development toward closer and firmer political relations within that state. The multiplication of government functions that has accompanied the growth of factories and the appearance of new forms of industrial organization in America, and even more remarkably in Europe, had hardly begun before the Civil War. But the economic purpose of the state, minimized in political theory during the reaction against its control that accompanied the American and French revolutions, was again attaining recognition. The unity and strength of the government were seen to affect directly the welfare of industrial workers and employers. Our producers no longer enjoyed the happy self-sufficiency of the frontiersmen and the subsistence farmers who were the representative citizens of an earlier and to many a more idyllic era. The growing interdependence of society was exhibited throughout its economic life. Though that interdependence was made possible primarily by the improved mechanism of transportation, it was first manifested in production through the new organization and the expansion of manufactures. Political institutions, which in one aspect are reflections or expressions of economic forms, responded to this change by extending their authority and functions. This general tendency first realized itself in America through the growth of nationalism. Thus the rise of manufactures in the United States specifically fostered a political sentiment in favor of a strong and efficient central government, and in favor of increasing public intervention in the economic activities of the individual.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

## THE COW COUNTRY

THE great American desert had been used by the Indians as a home and hunting ground for centuries before Pike, and Lewis and Clark, and Long reached the conclusion that it was relatively uninhabitable. It was consecrated to the eternal use of the Indians by James Monroe and his successors who, between 1825 and 1841, built up a solid barrier of Indian reservations extending in unbroken front from Green Bay to the southern boundary of the United States at Red River. Pious Americans thanked God, in the days of Andrew Jackson, that He in His wisdom had placed this unusable barrier along the western boundary of Missouri to prevent the United States from straggling, loose-knitted, across the continent; and many of them believed that He had by direct word promised to make the boundary permanent. In pursuance of revelation Joseph Smith started to build for his Mormon followers "the city of Zion" in "the land of promise", of which "the place which is now called Independence [Missouri], is the center place . . . wherefore it is wisdom that the land should be purchased by the saints; and also every tract lying westward, even unto the line running directly between Jew and Gentile".<sup>1</sup> And for the next generation American population generally avoided residence in the desert or the Indian Country, moved around it or across it, and left it in the possession of nature, its own wild beasts, and its Indian occupants. George Catlin, whose book on the country ran through ten editions to 1866, could still write and believe in the tenth edition that "this strip of country, which extends from the province of Mexico to Lake Winnipeg on the North, is almost one entire plain of grass, which is, and ever must be, useless to cultivating man".<sup>2</sup>

That the Indian Country had a value of its own, that it was more than a desert if less than a white man's home, was an idea that entered into few heads between 1825 and the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1869. With population east of the Mississippi increasing in density and elaborating its social order and with communities on the Pacific slope springing into existence, with

<sup>1</sup> Revelation to Joseph Smith, July, 1831, Joseph and Heman C. Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (sixth ed., Lamoni, Ia., 1902), I. 203.

<sup>2</sup> George Catlin, *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (tenth ed., London, 1866), I. 261.

Chicago and St. Louis passing the quarter-million and with railroads making obsolete most of the earlier routes of travel, the Indian Country continued to impede free communication within the limits of the nation, yet offered slight incentive to occupation for its own sake. The overland caravan, the overland stage, the pony express, and the bullock train rose and fell, but population held back from absorbing the tract between Missouri and the mountains, Canada and the heart of Texas.

In the autumn of 1866 two of the bullock trains engaged in freighting goods from the Missouri to mountain points are said to have been stalled by snow on the plains of western Nebraska. The drivers, in the employ of Wells, Fargo, and Company and Alexander Majors, of the famous freighting firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell, gave up all hope of getting their cargo through before winter.<sup>3</sup> They cached their wagons as well as they could, turned the oxen loose to perish on the plains, and rode their horses back to the border. In the following spring they returned to their abandoned train to take it on, and found to their surprise not the whitened bones of their oxen but the oxen themselves, sleek, fat, and ready for the block. The experience thus gained by accident became the basis of a new industry, and before many more seasons revolved the northern plains were crowded with wintering cattle and their tenders, and the cow country had come into existence. For two decades the country flourished, and then it vanished into space.

The cow country stretched unbroken from the Texas rivers to Manitoba. Its stock, their tenders, their owners, and their yearly habits caught the American imagination as the Santa Fé trade had done a half-century earlier. It was capitalized by Colonel Cody, who opened with his Wild West Show at Omaha in May, 1883, after gathering his Indians and cowboys together on his North Platte ranch; by Colonel Roosevelt, whose ranches on the Little Missouri attracted his attention and the public's for many years; by John Lomax, who has collected the songs of the cowboys; by Owen Wister, who has preserved the spirit of the country in his *Virginian*; and by Frederic Remington, whose pencil sketched its figures. The cow country endured while the open range lasted, and gave way before the attacks of physical enclosure and legal obstruction.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> A. T. Babbitt, Cheyenne, Wyo., March 30, 1884, to editor, *Chicago Tribune*, April 5, 1884; Joseph Nimmo, jr., to editor of *New York Tribune*, enclosed by him to editor of *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, in *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, July 31, 1885. The date is elsewhere given as 1864.

<sup>4</sup> Helen Cody Wetmore, *Last of the Great Scouts: the Life Story of Col. William F. Cody, "Buffalo Bill"* (1889), p. 242; *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, March 22, 1883; John A. Lomax, *Cowboy Songs and other Frontier Ballads* (1910).

Cattle have always bred freely on the Texas plains. Here the buffalo ranged and multiplied with unlimited pasture and sufficient water. The cattle originated in droves turned loose by early Spanish ranchers and, by survivals, developed a hardy, rangy, enterprising stock that could stand exposure and meet the other wild animals on equal terms. But they had possessed slight commercial importance before the Civil War, as there had been no market for them. Every agricultural community in the Mississippi Valley provided enough fresh beef from the increase of its own herds, and there were few urban centres that could not get enough beef locally, even if there had been a cheap means for the delivery to a market of cattle from the Texas range. The few early drovers who took herds from Texas or Arkansas to St. Louis or Indianapolis<sup>5</sup> only emphasized the occasional character of the trade. So the Texas cattle ran wild. Some were slaughtered for their hides<sup>6</sup> as the buffalo were for their robes. But their market value was not suspected before it was discovered that they could live and fatten without shelter on even the northern plains, before the city groups had outgrown the capacity of their agricultural environs to supply fresh beef, and before the continental railroads had thrust their heads out into the range, inviting freight.

About 1866 it was learned that cattle could winter in western Nebraska, and in the same year the Union Pacific was shortening the old overland trail as it built toward Cheyenne and Laramie. At Ogallala, a "little, worn-out, old, and withered town",<sup>7</sup> about twenty miles east of Julesburg and the Colorado corner, it reached the heart of the buffalo range that was now to be a cow country, and here shippers and buyers could dicker over stock for the Omaha and Chicago markets.

Born and bred on the Texas plains, the cattle entered upon the cycle of their career at the spring round-up. Early in May their owners arranged for co-operative action, region by region. They and their cowboys searched the meadows and the hills for grazing stock, and drove slowly to a fixed rendezvous the bulls and steers, the cows, and the new calves, still trotting at their mother's sides. At the round-up the cattle were sorted out by brands and reliance

<sup>5</sup> John T. Alexander, who died in August, 1876, was known among his friends as the "great cattle king of the Mississippi Valley", and had driven Texas cattle to Logansport, Ind., about 1848. *Chicago Inter Ocean*, August 25, 1876.

<sup>6</sup> Joseph Nimmo, jr., *Report in Regard to the Range and Ranch Cattle Business of the United States* (Treasury Department, Bureau of Statistics, *Doc. No. 690*, pp. 200 and maps), p. 4. This document was reprinted without the maps as *House Ex. Doc. 267*, 48 Cong., 2 sess., serial 2304.

<sup>7</sup> *Chicago Times*, March 5, 1880.

was placed on mother affection as a means of proving ownership of unbranded calves. Those overlooked at the last spring or fall round-up, or born since then, and in either case too large to heel with the mother, formed a class of unidentifiable "mavericks", to be divided according to some arbitrary rule. The unmarked animals at the round-up were there marked with the brand of the owner, and no man might either legally or safely own a branding iron other than his own. The yearling steers were then cut out in herds by themselves and started up the long trail to Nebraska, Wyoming, and Dakota. The rest of the herds were turned loose again to mingle and mate and multiply on the plains of Texas or of the Indian Territory.

As the market for this stock strengthened there was a tendency to improve its quality. Bulls were selected with care. Shorthorn and Hereford, Polled Angus and Galloway bulls were imported in large numbers while cattlemen debated the merits of the different strains to be crossed with the native stock.<sup>8</sup> Blooded breed cows were added to herds. Sometimes by individual action, more often by some form of co-operation, the cattle-owners raised the standard of plains cattle and protected their industry. Innumerable cattle-growers' and stock owners' associations were formed to check thefts, to register and protect brands, and to procure defensive legislation. And every year throughout the seventies more steers were cut out of the Texas herds and driven north.

Every year, too, brought more railroads to stake out the eastern limits of the range and to affect its traffic. Along the old Santa Fé trail the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé was creeping, as was the Union Pacific along the Oregon trail; and at Dodge City, near old Fort Dodge and the still older Mexican boundary at the intersection of the Arkansas River with the hundredth meridian, there grew up a supply station that regarded itself as the cow town *par excellence*. Here, in the spring during the round-ups, the buyers of southern cattle came. The town amused them as best it could while they waited for their herds. Dance halls and saloons, horse-racing and gambling, and the tuneful ministrations of Dodge City's famous cowboy band created in Kansas, even under prohibition, what resembled closely the mining camp or the railroad construction camp.

The southern owners often disposed of their droves at Dodge City rather than drive them to Nebraska. Some were bought out-

<sup>8</sup> Nimmo, *Range and Ranch Cattle Business*, p. 22; *Idaho Avalanche* (Silver City), March 24, 1883; Clara M. Love has discussed the breeding problem in her "History of the Cattle Industry in the Southwest" in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XX. 1-3 (July, 1916), and gives an abundant bibliography of the industry in Texas.



right for immediate slaughter and were shipped in cattle-cars to the Kansas City stock-yards.<sup>9</sup> More were delivered to northern buyers, who turned the herds over to their cowboys to be conducted to the northern ranches. There are some instances of companies and individuals that owned both southern herds and northern ranches, and that integrated breeding, the long drive, and northern feeding and fattening under one control. But one way or another, after the May round-ups, the southern cattle "drifted" up the trails,<sup>10</sup> grazing as they went, pasturing on the public lands and tended by a handful of cowboys, the "most interesting feature" of stock raising,<sup>11</sup> who became a national type on sight.

The cowboy<sup>12</sup> was created by his trade. He was more restless than the emigrant farmer and less a frontiersman than the fur-trader or the soldier. His occupation was transitional for him and his industry lasted for too few years to become standardized. He was, of course, rough and ready, living in the open and on his horse. He alternated the tedium of cattle-tending with sprees and shooting up the border towns. Sometimes he stopped a continental train to amuse himself with its passengers and crew. He loved to shock the tenderfoot, yet he was often of eastern stock, with a background of cultivated life. The British scion, shipped to the cow country and turned cowboy, revealing himself only to maidens in distress, was a frequent figure in newspaper notices and was not entirely non-existent. In the long watches of the nights the cowboy rode around his sleeping drove and sang to it and himself ballads that were improvised on the border and that are a genuine contribution to American folk literature. From Dodge City, or some other convenient point near the Panhandle or the Cherokee Strip, the upper part of the cowboys' journey and the herds' march began.

Late in the autumn the herds, hardened by continuous exercise since spring, arrived at their northern home. Ogallala, Nebraska, was the first great centre, and for a radius of a hundred miles around this town ranches multiplied in the late seventies.<sup>13</sup> About this time

<sup>9</sup> In 1883 72,892 head of cattle were said to have been shipped directly from Dodge City. *Dodge City Globe*, quoted in *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, December 14, 1883.

<sup>10</sup> G. Pomeroy Keese, "Beef", in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, LXIX. 294 (July, 1884).

<sup>11</sup> *Idaho Avalanche*, July 27, 1883.

<sup>12</sup> E. Hough, *The Story of the Cowboy* (1897), gives a picturesque view of personal life in the cow country, with the rich and full detail of the contemporary.

<sup>13</sup> As early as 1877 the Union Pacific was unable to supply enough cattle-cars for these shipments and was forced to borrow cars from lines joining it at Omaha. *Report of the Government Directors of the Union Pacific*, June 30, 1877, *Sen. Ex. Doc. 2*, p. 2, 45 Cong., 1 sess., serial 1780.

the Northern Pacific reached the Yellowstone River at Glendive, Montana, and passed by Fort Keogh on its way to Tacoma. Between Glendive and Fort Keogh was another centre for ranches, some four hundred miles northwest of the Ogallala group, where in the winter of 1884 General Brisbin could list forty herds comprising over 300,000 head of cattle.<sup>14</sup> The Montana Stockmen's Association met here in 1883 with Theodore Roosevelt as a delegate from the Little Missouri ranches.<sup>15</sup> And here in 1885 was Miles City, seven years old, sprouted out of the Fort Keogh military reserve, and destined in the mind of its historian for "a brilliant future" as business capital of eastern Montana.<sup>16</sup> In this region and throughout the neighboring parts of Nebraska, Colorado, Wyoming, and Dakota the normal development of the beef traffic created conditions that ultimately helped to destroy it.

The condition of the cattle on a northern ranch was different from that of those breeding in the south or en route up the trail. They had to be watched and fattened with a minimum of waste, exercise, and oversight. The ideal northern ranch had its site determined by some running stream, available at all seasons for watering stock. Around this must lie a huge tract of grazing country, and it was some advantage if the country was rugged enough to afford bald knobs from which the snow would drift away leaving the dry grass exposed, and sheltered valleys in which cattle might find partial shelter in winter, and southern slopes upon which the tender spring grass might appear earlier than on the open plains. It was a permanent establishment on which a home ranch house with a group of out-buildings was certain to appear as soon as finances warranted its construction.<sup>17</sup>

From the ranch house as headquarters the cowboys went out on their tours of duty, and at one or another of the ranches the local round-up was likely to be held,<sup>18</sup> since the northern ranches soon came to breed as well as drive their stock. As the railroads improved it was found that the returning empty cattle-cars could be had at easy rates for the carriage of eastern calves, to grow up in the West, or eastern thin cattle to be fattened upon western free grass. "Emigrant" or "pilgrim" cattle,<sup>19</sup> as these were called, were

<sup>14</sup> James S. Brisbin, Ft. Keogh, Mont., February 12, 1884, to editor, *Chicago Tribune*, February 18, 1884.

<sup>15</sup> Roosevelt, *Autobiography* (1914), p. 111.

<sup>16</sup> *History of Montana, 1739-1885* (Chicago, 1885), p. 523.

<sup>17</sup> Roosevelt, *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman* (1891), p. 5.

<sup>18</sup> An excellent account of the Weld County, Col., round-up, at Brush, is in *Chicago Tribune*, July 4, 1884.

<sup>19</sup> *Idaho Avalanche*, January 31, 1885.

a menace in the range because of their tendency to import and distribute disease. But the northern rancher maintained his establishment for the purpose of fattening cattle, and took the risk of infection until his local association or the law intervened. The agents of the Wyoming Stock-Growers' Association inspected over 200,000 cattle in the season of 1882.<sup>20</sup>

Step by step with the development of the cattle business on the open range went the process of enclosure. American wire-drawing machinery had made long progress since Ichabod Washburn began to draw wire for cards and screws in the early thirties.<sup>21</sup> Piano wire and telegraph wire and flat wires for hoop-skirts had followed from his factory, and in the early seventies he and his son-in-law, Philip L. Moen, were still at the business owning the basic patents on barbed wire fencing.<sup>22</sup> In 1874 John W. Gates began to sell barbed wire at twenty cents a pound,<sup>23</sup> and thousands of miles of cheap and stock-proof fences were soon netted over the treeless plains. In 1883 and again in 1888 Congressional committees were harassed by the demands of the wire-makers that they should have free rods from which to draw their wires, with high duties on the finished product, and the counter demands of the steel men that at least six-tenths of a cent a pound on rods was necessary to their existence. The litigation, the infringement of patent rights, the manufacture of "moonshine" wire<sup>24</sup> to compete with the wire output of licensed plants is a story that leads up to the consolidation of the American Steel and Wire Company in 1899.<sup>25</sup> To the range man the new wire fence offered the means for a cheap enclosure that would enable him to cut down costs of cowboy hire on his ranch.

It happened rarely that the cattleman owned all the land he used or fenced. "The great unfenced ranches, in the days of 'free grass', necessarily represented a temporary stage in our history", says Colonel Roosevelt.<sup>26</sup> The land laws made it nearly impossible for one owner to acquire legally the thousands of acres that were

<sup>20</sup> *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, April 4, 1883. The association had its inspectors at the points of shipment, Deadwood, Custer, Buffalo, and Miles City. *Idaho Avalanche*, October 20, 1883.

<sup>21</sup> Franklin P. Rice, *The Worcester of 1898* (1899), p. 457.

<sup>22</sup> *History of Worcester County, Massachusetts* (1879), II. 661; "The Making of Wire", in *Worcester Magazine*, IV. 169.

<sup>23</sup> Statement of John W. Gates, May 27, 1911, in *United States Steel Corporation, Hearings*, I. 25.

<sup>24</sup> Statement of George W. Oliver, June 13, 1888, *Sen. Report* 2332, pt. 2, p. 120, 50 Cong., 1 sess.

<sup>25</sup> *Report of the United States Industrial Commission*, I. 199.

<sup>26</sup> Roosevelt, *Autobiography* (1914), p. 95.

needed to support a large herd. In many cases even the small acreage along the indispensable water right was acquired only by trickery or collusive action with homesteaders and pre-emptioners. But without absolute control of water there could be no cattle ranch: and control of the water rendered the unwatered hinterland of the region useless so far as other cattlemen were concerned.<sup>27</sup> Hence came the custom of fencing not only the land owned outright but thousands of acres lying adjacent and still a part of the public domain.<sup>28</sup> And since a tight fence was the only guarantee of safe stock there grew up easily the practice of threatening and maltreating fence cutters. "The . . . who opens the fence had better look out for his scalp", was posted at intervals along the wires of a Nebraska enclosure,<sup>29</sup> while the famous Brighton ranch in that state became the scene of a petty civil war.<sup>30</sup>

These illegal enclosures, comprising more than three million acres that could be listed in 1885,<sup>31</sup> and over six million acres that had been opened up in 1888,<sup>32</sup> seem to have been more numerous in the northern cow country than in the southern; though in Texas and New Mexico and southern Colorado many are known to have existed. They raised big and difficult problems of public policy that Grover Cleveland and Land Commissioner Sparks tried to solve in 1885. But for the cattle country they created conditions that contributed to its destruction.

The long drive from Texas was made every summer in the seventies and early eighties, through a range country that was becoming each year more closely restricted. Dodge City, Ogallala, and

<sup>27</sup> William T. Holt wrote from Denver, June 30, 1883, to Secretary of the Interior Teller, asking if, since he owned in fee simple the eight hundred acres which alone were watered, he might legally enclose 2300 adjacent dry acres of the public domain; "I have long occupied the land which I purpose fencing, and my fence will interfere with no vested private rights." *Sen. Ex. Doc. 127*, p. 35, 48 Cong., 1 sess., serial 2167.

<sup>28</sup> Secretary of the Interior Lamar showed, in his annual report for 1887, how a rancher who bought a group of alternate sections from a land-grant railroad could build a fence exclusively upon his own land and yet enclose many sections belonging to the United States. *House Ex. Doc. 1*, pt. 5, p. 14, 50 Cong., 1 sess., serial 2541.

<sup>29</sup> George W. Fairfield, deputy surveyor, to D. V. Stephenson, surveyor general for Nebraska, November 26, 1883. *House Ex. Doc. 119*, pt. 2, p. 2, 48 Cong., 1 sess., serial 2006.

<sup>30</sup> *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, April 30, 1885.

<sup>31</sup> Secretary of the Interior Teller transmitted to the Senate, March 14, 1884, forty-five pages of complaints and reports on illegal fencing. *Sen. Ex. Doc. 127*, 48 Cong., 1 sess., serial 2167.

<sup>32</sup> Annual report of Secretary of the Interior Vilas, 1888. *House Ex. Doc. 1*, p. xvi, 50 Cong., 2 sess., serial 2636.

Miles City were only leading specimens among scores of towns along all of the continental railroads. Relentlessly such towns pushed further into the range. Each spring emigrants as well as cattlemen sought them out. Homesteads came to be grouped around them and the wire fences of the homesteaders restricted travel and traffic to the public roads along the section and township lines. Free grass was gone, so far as the expanding homestead region was concerned. And in the vicinity of the great enclosed cattle ranches free grass was monopolized by the fencer and free transit was impeded by the fence. Mail carriers complained that illegal fences closed the public mail roads by gates arbitrarily placed by the fencers, and often forced them to long detours from the direct course of their star routes.<sup>33</sup>

This zone of free grass on the public domain was nearly free and unobstructed in 1880, but by 1885 it was broken into so badly that its future was at stake. "This Spring is the beginning of a new life for Dodge City", wrote one of its residents in May, 1885.<sup>34</sup> It had ceased to be a cow town since no herd could be driven or pastured within many miles of it. The old congregations of owners, buyers, and cowboys could no longer occur for their trade had gone away. But its prosperity lasted because a farming country had sprung up around it on homesteads or railroad lands, and it was confidently believed that all of Kansas south of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé would soon be divided into farms.<sup>35</sup>

Between the illegal enclosures and the farms the long drive was likely to be strangled out of existence. To these destructive forces was now added quarantine as a restrictive measure, for it was coming to be seen that free interchange of live cattle might easily spread disease.

The existence of the range cattle business was brought to the public consciousness first by conditions of health and disease. About 1875 the shippers of cattle tried the experiment of exporting both live stock and fresh meat to Liverpool and other British ports.<sup>36</sup> It paid so well that the business was quickly established on a systematic basis, and cattle on the hoof, or sides slaughtered at Chicago found their way in swelling numbers to adorn the British dinner table. "The merry roast beef of England in old England itself is

<sup>33</sup> W. Q. Gresham to H. M. Teller, April 23, 1883. *Sen. Ex. Doc. 127*, p. 3, 48 Cong., 1 sess.

<sup>34</sup> "D.", writing from Dodge City, May 20, in *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, May 22, 1885.

<sup>35</sup> *Dodge City Cowboy*, quoted in *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, April 15, 1885.

<sup>36</sup> *Harper's Weekly*, April 7, 1877, p. 277; *Leslie's Weekly*, March 17, 1877, p. 18; *Chicago Tribune*, March 1, 1877.

giving way to American beef, which is now actually ruling the roast there",<sup>37</sup> rejoiced the *Chicago Times* in 1880, while the British stockman discovered that his profits were endangered. Some fought competition at its source and engaged directly in American ranching, until by 1884 it was estimated that "one-sixth of all our herds are now owned by Englishmen".<sup>38</sup> One of these, Moreton Frewen, gained prominence by his attempt to divert northwestern cattle from Chicago to Canadian ports, over the Northern Pacific. Others fought for protective tariffs, and others raised the cry that American cattle were unhealthy and American beef was unwholesome. In March, 1879, there became effective an order in council regulating and restricting the importation of American cattle,<sup>39</sup> and directing thereby the attention of the United States to the fact that in the past years steers worth \$3,896,818 and beef worth \$5,009,856 had found their way to European markets.<sup>40</sup> "This business of the export of live cattle to England has developed immense proportions in the last year", the superintendent of the Chicago Stock-Yards telegraphed to the Commissioner of Agriculture, "it is worth millions to the country and affects directly every farmer in the Northwest".<sup>41</sup>

For twelve years after 1879 the United States was engaged in a trade war to get its meat products received by European countries, and was fighting quarantines so severe that even Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show was excluded from Germany because its buffalo might convey disease.<sup>42</sup> Pork caused the most trouble, and in Germany where it was customary for many to eat it uncooked it was easy to lay the blame for trichinosis to American importation. "Everybody knows that 65,000,000 Americans eat American pork, and that there has not been a case of illness or death reported as occurring from its use", urged the American minister to Freiherr Marschall von Bieberstein. "Everybody knows that 35,000,000 Englishmen eat it, and that it is the staple and chief nourishment of the British laborer, whose health and strength are models for emulation."<sup>43</sup> Yet

<sup>37</sup> *Chicago Times*, March 11, 1880.

<sup>38</sup> James S. Brisbin, March 16, 1884, to editor, *New York Sun*, April 6, 1884.

<sup>39</sup> Lord George Hamilton explained the reasons for this order in the House of Commons. Hansard, February 14, 1879, p. 1191.

<sup>40</sup> William M. Evarts to John Welsh, no. 264, April 2, 1879. *Foreign Relations*, 1879, p. 424.

<sup>41</sup> J. B. Sherman, supt. Union Stock-Yards, February 4, 1879, to William G. Le Duc, commissioner of agriculture. *Sen. Misc. Doc. 71*, p. 6, 45 Cong., 3 sess., serial 1833.

<sup>42</sup> Hugh M. Herrick, *William Walter Phelps: his Life and Public Services* (1904), pp. 238-239.

<sup>43</sup> W. W. Phelps to von Bieberstein, February 6, 1891. *Foreign Relations*, 1891, p. 506.

it was absolutely excluded from much of Europe for the period. Live cattle were impeded more than dressed or tinned beef, though sometimes the last was classified as imported manufactured metal in order to bring it under a prohibitive rate. The restrictions were so numerous and so plausibly based upon sanitary grounds that the United States was impelled thereby to enlarge its Department of Agriculture and to begin the scrutiny and inspection of foods as well for the health of its own citizens as for that of foreign buyers. The first result of this policy was "the order made by the German Government on September 3, 1891, removing the prohibition which it had maintained since 1881 against the importation of American pork products".<sup>44</sup> Another of the new agencies of the new nation was being brought into action.

But the foreign trade that produced restriction because of alleged disease called attention to real disease and the danger that migration might spread it. Huge epidemics were thought to be traceable to the importation of infected stock for breeding or to the exchange of emigrant cattle. Pleuro-pneumonia, hoof and mouth disease, and Texas fever became every-day terms in the vocabulary of the western newspapers, and stock associations turned propagandist in self-defense.

A bureau of animal industry was erected in the Department of Agriculture in May, 1884,<sup>45</sup> after long agitation for it by the range men and the Commissioner of Agriculture.<sup>46</sup> Its powers were inadequate and its machinery was rudimentary, yet it forbade the driving of infected herds, gave certain powers of stock quarantine, and is the first striking step in the breaking up of the cow country by law. In the summer of 1884 there was much talk of Texas fever and related ailments in Kansas<sup>47</sup> and Colorado, and drovers demanded quarantine against the dreaded Texas cattle. How far the demand was genuinely therapeutic and how far it only screened a lust for protection against Texas competition cannot be proved: certainly both elements were there and the results were visible in the spring of 1885 when Kansas and Colorado passed cattle quarantine laws under which their governors found it practicable to exclude the driving of Texas stock across either state.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *Annual Report of the United States Bureau of Animal Industry*, 1891, p. 112.

<sup>45</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, 48 Cong., 1 sess., p. 31.

<sup>46</sup> Various petitions on the subject are discussed in *New York Tribune*, December 14, 1880; *Chicago Tribune*, February 23, 1884.

<sup>47</sup> Gov. Glick called the Kansas legislature in special session, March 18, 1884, to pass a "dead line" bill. *Chicago Tribune*, March 14, 1884.

<sup>48</sup> *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, April 16, May 3, 1884; Nimmo, *Range and Ranch Cattle Business*, pp. 36, 134.



A growing consciousness that the range was almost gone protrudes through the sources for 1884 and 1885. There had been a "fat stock show" at Chicago in November, 1883, at which the need for quarantine and federal law had been urged, and at which it had been determined to convene a national stock-growers' convention in 1884. During 1884 the stockmen of the "rowdy West" discussed alternately the election of their hero, Blaine, and the prospective convention. The plans for both miscarried, and in November two conventions instead of one met, one at St. Louis and the other at Chicago.<sup>49</sup> The latter represented chiefly the dairy and stock interests of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Illinois, while the gathering at St. Louis brought the range men and the shippers into earnest conclave. Both bodies demanded federal control and inspection, and both debated free grass, enclosures, and methods of leasing public lands. The St. Louis gathering expressed in the form of a memorial to Congress<sup>50</sup> a demand for a national public quarantined cattle trail, running from the Texas Panhandle to the Canada line. Varying in width from a few feet to six miles this trail was to guarantee to stockmen forever the privilege that was being so narrowly restricted by homesteads and illegal enclosures and quarantines.

The long drive of 1885 was broken up almost beyond recognition by these obstructions. At various times the stockmen of Texas and Indian Territory tried to force their way across the Kansas line, only to be beaten back by law or by threat. The Cherokee Strip afforded a first-rate barrier even before the Kansas line was reached. Here a great cattle company had rented the grazing rights from the Cherokee nation<sup>51</sup> and had sublet areas to nearly a hundred separate owners. They denied the right of cattle from points further south to follow the trail through the lands of their lease. The Texas men in reply raised the cry that trails were public property and that monopolies were oppressing small owners. The roots of populism lie not far from the scene of this controversy, but for the present the Texas men carried their fight to court where federal writ as well as executive order from the Interior Department forbade interference. And in the end the cattle leases had to go from Indian Territory as well as enclosures from the other plains.

Congress had been prodded to action against illegal enclosures

<sup>49</sup> The address of George B. Loring, United States commissioner of agriculture, at this National Convention of Cattle-Breeders, November 13, 1884, is printed in Department of Agriculture, Miscellaneous, *Special Report No. 6* (Washington, 1884).

<sup>50</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, November 13, 19, 30, 1884.

<sup>51</sup> *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, January 9, May 28, November 25, 1883.

on the public domain during President Arthur's administration, and passed on February 25, 1885, an act authorizing the summary cutting of illegal fences. It had formerly been hard to defend the cutting of a fence by a third party, without a direct interest, in the absence of the action by the United States government as owner; and in some states illegally held enclosures were sufficient to bar entries for homestead or pre-emption purposes and were taxed for state purposes while their holders were protected in their possession against all but the federal authority.<sup>52</sup> Under the law of 1885 President Cleveland, "determined", as the Republican editor of the *Idaho Avalanche* declared, "that the rich shall obey the laws as well as the poor",<sup>53</sup> issued a proclamation on August 7<sup>54</sup> ordering illegal enclosers to obey the law. He had already, by cancelling the grazing leases in Indian Territory, taken a step towards the assertion of a public interest in Oklahoma. As rapidly as the fences came down the homesteaders came in wherever the country permitted it.

It was the fence of the lessor of Indian grazing rights that blocked the trails south of the Kansas line, just as it was the fence of the homesteader to the north. The emigrant boom of the eighties was on. Western Kansas and eastern Colorado were filling up, and the American desert that had once lain just beyond Independence was now reported as retreating to the Wyoming line. Indian Territory escaped this boom because of Indian occupancy, but the internal tract of the territory known as Oklahoma, the title to which had been partly quieted, aroused the desires of farmers and speculators. Repeatedly Payne and Couch organized their Oklahoma settlement companies at Caldwell or Arkansas City and pushed across the line, and as often the regular army followed them in and threw them out. Gen. Phil Sheridan had much of this petty police duty to perform. When arrested, the ambitious squatters maintained that they had violated no law and must be treated with kindness, and the federal courts regularly released them because the laws respecting the Indian Country were so loosely knit that offenders could easily slip through the meshes, especially in a district where juries were sympathetic with the culprits. The boomers attacked the lessors of grazing rights from another side. Why, they asked, can great corporations reside freely in the Indian Territory and establish homes there under cover of herding when honest citizens are barred out? Why should the strained interpretation of

<sup>52</sup> The United States Supreme Court upheld certain cases of this sort. *House Rept.* 1809, 47 Cong., 1 sess., serial 2070.

<sup>53</sup> *Idaho Avalanche*, August 15, 1885.

<sup>54</sup> Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VIII. 309.

the law oppress the poor? On March 13, 1885, Cleveland ordered the boomers to keep out of the territory, as both Arthur and Hayes had done before him, and his later exclusion of the grazers, too, was an act of compensatory justice.<sup>55</sup> The negotiations that culminated in the Dawes Bill of 1887 made it possible to break up the tribal lands, to allot farms to the Indians in severalty, and to open the remainders of unallotted lands to settlers. Oklahoma became an organized territory in 1880, earlier than would have been the case had not the business of the cow country forced the issue.

The conventions of 1884 and 1885 developed the fact that three sets of great interests had become involved in the struggle for the profits of the cow country. First came the cattlemen themselves, organized in their local, state, and national associations; then came the railroads that hauled the output, living or dead; and lastly were the packers, whose new industry was based upon concentration and invention. "The modern tendency to combination and the use of the corporation for the management of vast affairs are more evident in the production of meat than in any other interest directly connected with the soil", declared the *Chicago Tribune*, pointing out that these conventions

are evidences of this. The rapid transfer of the ranches of the West to the hands of great companies is another proof of this movement. The formation of cattle-breeders' and cattle-growers' associations in every Western State and Territory is another. The producers of meat are uniting themselves for the exchange of views and protection against thieves and plagues not only, but for bringing the railroads to terms and securing the attention of the Government to their demands.<sup>56</sup>

Chicago had just organized its stock industry on a supposedly permanent basis when the range business began. On December 25, 1865, the old scattered stock-yards became "a thing of the past".<sup>57</sup> They were simultaneously abandoned and the interests involved moved to the new Union Stock-Yards on Halsted Street where an *imperium in imperio* speedily developed, and where in the next fifty years 541,032,929 head of stock were received and accounted for.<sup>58</sup> To these yards all of the railroads delivered inbound stock, collected generally in the farming regions of Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, and destined for the local table. The slaughter houses gathered

<sup>55</sup> *Annual Report of Secretary of War Endicott*, 1885, pp. 4. 5.

<sup>56</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, November 18, 1884.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, December 25, 1865; A. T. Andreas, *History of Chicago* (1886), III. 334; J. S. Currey, *Chicago: its History and its Builders* (1912), III. 171; W. J. Grand, *Illustrated History of the Union Stock-Yards* (1896), p. 9.

<sup>58</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, January 2, 1916.

around the Union Stock-Yards in convenient locations, but "packingtown" was not yet a well-known term. Some beef was corned or dried, as pork had been in great amounts for many years, but the stock-yards were a local distributive agency and in no sense a centre of independent manufacture.

Cheap cattle from the range began to come in soon after the opening of the Union Stock-Yards. They filled the local market and overflowed to the East and Europe. With them came the invention of a practical ice machine and a cheap process for making and soldering tin cans, upon which inventions turned a revolution in the meat-trade. Certain of the shippers and butchers tried experiments with tinned fresh beef (of which Libby, McNeal, and Libby shipped thirty-one million tins by 1884),<sup>59</sup> and with the shipment of beef in refrigerator cars. The European shipments of October, 1875, and later, showed how practicable it was to handle beef in sides instead of on the hoof, and the discovery of profitable by-products provided reasons for the growth of a packing industry not only in Chicago, but in Omaha, Kansas City, and St. Louis. Other cities struggled for many years to share in the profits of slaughter and packing. Their newspapers discussed the reasons why, ultimately, the slaughtering was to be done at the place of original shipment. But the logic of convenience, labor supply, and by-products worked to make the traffic quasi-monopolistic and to develop out of the competitors of the seventies the "big four" of the eighties—Armour, Hammond, Morris, and Swift.

The cattlemen and the packers were soon in keen competition for the profits of beef; with the latter having the same advantage in ownership of plant and conveyance that the Standard Oil Company had over the producers of crude petroleum during the same years. It was in vain that the cowmen tried to combine. Great cattle companies succeeded individual owners, with gigantic enclosed herds replacing the small droves on the open range, yet the packers retained their strategic position in the trade. They drove the stock-owners to seek allies where they could, and to find them in the railroads that consumed much of the profits of the industry in the form of freight.

Early in the history of the trade, as soon as the Union Stock-Yards began to ship large numbers of live stock to New York and other eastern points, the railways began to scramble for the freights. The five trunk lines, New York Central, Erie, Pennsylvania, Baltimore and Ohio, and Grand Trunk, competed for the business with

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, February 10, 1884.

cut-throat and disastrous rate wars, and worked out a more peaceful *modus vivendi* only after the panic of 1873. They then agreed to divide the traffic on a given percentage, and induced a few of the greater shippers to adjust their shipments, over one road or another, so as to even up the totals with the agreed ratio. These firms were known locally and enviously as "eveners", and found the reward for their co-operation in a rebate from the published rate per car that allowed them to fatten at the expense of their unfavored smaller rivals.<sup>60</sup> "This railroad competition has helped to concentrate the live-stock and dressed-beef business into the hands of a few men",<sup>61</sup> testified the best-informed spectator, Albert Fink, in 1883.

For several years the "evener" group of firms enjoyed the advantages gained by their agreement, but by 1877 the scheme had broken down because conspirators to stifle trade lacked the firmness, when bought, to stay bought, and the trunk lines tried a new experiment for the division of freight receipts according to a fixed pool. Albert Fink,<sup>62</sup> who had harmonized the rivalries of various southern roads, was put in charge of this new regulative association, and until the interstate commerce law was passed in 1887 he was almost the sole force in America working to maintain uniformity and equality of rates against the bargaining tendencies of shippers and the competitive lust of carriers.

As the trade developed and cattle shipments east of Chicago assumed the form of fresh beef, with thirty animals to the refrigerator car instead of eighteen to the stock car,<sup>63</sup> competition was again aroused. The surviving shippers of live stock demanded that the rate on beef be raised far above the rate on cattle on the hoof, so as to maintain equality between the two forms of meat on the New York market. They found allies in the railroads, who wanted to keep their stock-cars in use and to get the higher cattle-car rates; in the stock-yards owners along the lines who could see that their plants would become obsolete and unproductive if no more live cattle came to use them; and in the butchers of the eastern cities who resented the changes that were converting them from butchers and manufacturers into mere agents and dealers in meat. By 1888

<sup>60</sup> Charles S. Langstroth and Wilson Stilz, *Railway Co-operation* (1899), p. 46; *New York Times*, May 19, 1879.

<sup>61</sup> Albert Fink, *Testimony before the United States Senate Committee on Labor and Education*, New York, September 17, 1883 (pamphlet), p. 56.

<sup>62</sup> E. R. Johnson and G. C. Huebner, *Railroad Traffic and Rates* (1911), I. 297; *United States Industrial Commission Report*, XIX. 333.

<sup>63</sup> Statement of George W. Simpson, president of the Refrigerator Car Line, before the Cullom Committee, May 27, 1885. *Sen. Rept.* 46, pt. 2, p. 404, 49 Cong., 1 sess., serial 2357.

a New York wholesale butcher could say, under oath, that with a few exceptions "the slaughtering of cattle by butchers is a thing of the past".<sup>64</sup> The eastern butchers, fearful of extinction, raised the cry in the middle eighties that Chicago and Kansas City meats were unwholesome and were preserved with poisons—the charge ten years later in the Spanish War that they were "embalmed" was perhaps reminiscent of the butchers' complaint. In 1884 there was a New York Wholesale Butchers' Protective Union,<sup>65</sup> and in 1866 a Butchers' National Protective Association of the United States,<sup>66</sup> both formed to boycott Chicago beef.

The stock shippers got the relief they wanted in the form of an increase in beef rates from once-and-a-half the cattle rate, which the packers admitted to be fair, to once-and-three-quarters, and through secret rebates from the cattle rate. The rate wars that prepared the way for public regulation of railways and the division of great corporations among themselves so that some stood on the public's side for fair and non-discriminating rates, were founded in the beef and cattle trade. Henry Demarest Lloyd had raised the shout against the trusts in his memorable *Atlantic Monthly* article, "The Story of a Great Monopoly", as early as March, 1881. Edward Bellamy's hero in *Looking Backward* started upon his communistic dream on Decoration Day, 1887. And before Cleveland gave way to Harrison in 1889 there had been exhaustive investigations of meat and oil and transportation. The interstate commerce act of 1887 was itself one of the direct outgrowths of conditions starting in the cow country.

Between 1885 and 1887 all these forces came to a focus, and the cow country that had bred them ceased to be. The open range was blocked by occupation so that the long drive was no longer possible. Cattle quarantines completed the obstructions begun by the farmers. The greed of stockmen that had led to their illegal enclosures had forced effective intervention by the government to break them up and to end the period of unregulated free grass, while the beef industry, with its impetus derived from the cow country, had started new forces that continue to touch American life on many sides. The packing and dressed beef consolidations had come to stay; barbed wire was on the road to monopolistic consolidation in a huge

<sup>64</sup> Testimony of Levi Samuels, November 22, 1888, before the Senate Committee on the Transportation and Sale of Meat Products. *Sen. Rept. 829*, p. 118, 51 Cong., 1 sess., serial 2705.

<sup>65</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, March 22, 1884.

<sup>66</sup> Their constitution is in *Sen. Rept. 829*, Testimony, p. 150, 51 Cong., 1 sess., serial 2705.

trust; railroad regulation had become more acceptable because of the abuses that had been revealed; government activity, always strengthened by exercise, had been stimulated by the work of the Land Office, the inauguration of railroad control, and the inception of food inspection; and the Wild West had received clear recognition as one of the most valuable assets of American life and literature.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.



## THE AMERICAN CONGRESS OF BIBLIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY AT BUENOS AIRES

ON July 9, 1816, a formal declaration of independence of the Spanish colonies of the Rio de la Plata was made, by a congress in session at Tucumán. In consequence, a series of celebrations was organized in Argentina for the month of July, 1916, in honor of the one hundredth anniversary of the declaration of Tucumán, and as part of the programme a number of congresses, embracing a variety of subjects, such as the congress "of the child", that of social science, and many others, were held. One of these congresses was the one with which it is proposed to deal in this article.

It is open to question whether any other congress of the centenary accomplished more of real value than did the American Congress of Bibliography and History. Its success was due in large measure to the untiring efforts through two years of the organizer of the congress, Dr. Nicanor Sarmiento, member of the distinguished family of the former president of that name, and to the extremely efficient direction of the congress by its presiding officer, Dr. David Peña, founder of the Ateneo Nacional of the Argentine Republic, and one of the leading intellectual luminaries of South America. Of no small importance, too, was the fact that the congress held its meetings at the Ateneo Nacional in Buenos Aires, instead of going to Tucumán, thus being free to devote its time to business, rather than to the round of ceremonies which formed a delightful, but somewhat too diverting, feature of the exercises at Tucumán. The congress began its sessions on July 5, and, except for July 9, met every day, often morning, afternoon, and night, until July 14, a supplementary meeting taking place the night of July 18. One day was given over to an excursion to the city of La Plata, but all the other meetings were confined to business. Historical and bibliographical papers were not read in open session, but were referred respectively to two committees, and summaries only were submitted to the congress. Thus a vast amount of time was saved, which was utilized to the full, for the business proper of the congress.

The congress was attended by 225 delegates representing institutions in almost every country of the Americas. As was to be expected, however, the greater number came from Argentina. The delegates represented a wide variety of interests, not only historians proper but also bibliographers, librarians, teachers, and men who

were none of these, but who were interested in the subject-matter, being among those in attendance. National delegates were present from Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Paraguay, Peru, San Salvador, Spain, and Uruguay. The writer of this article was formal representative of the University of California, but was accorded the privileges and recognition of a national delegate. During the greater part of the meetings he was the only North American present, but in the closing days of the congress, Dr. William S. Robertson, whose boat was late, arrived as representative of the University of Illinois. It was unfortunate that more North Americans could not have been present, although the writer feels justified in saying that the mere presence of one, and at length two, was *not without its effect in the deliberations of the sessions*. Other North American universities which signified their adhesion to the congress were the following: Cornell, Chicago, Harvard, Louisiana, Minnesota, Tulane, and Yale. The following institutions did likewise: Academy of Political Science of Philadelphia, American Association for International Peace, American Historical Association, Library of Congress, Pan-American Union, and Smithsonian Institution.

The most important business concerned the organization of the congress as a permanent body, and the founding of a bibliographical institute, both measures being prepared by a special committee of which the writer was a member. A permanent council of the congress was established, and provision was made for a meeting of the congress at least once every three years, although the intention is that it shall take place every year. The next meeting is to be held at Montevideo on August 16, 1917, that date being the national holiday of the Republic of Uruguay. The founding of the Institute calls for more extended comment.

The American Institute of Bibliography was founded, and the Ateneo Nacional of Buenos Aires was named the central and directing body, that society having already accumulated a considerable fund for this very purpose. It aims to get together the most ample data concerning books and articles about the Americas or by citizens of any of the American republics, and to supply such information, at moderate prices, to any who may desire it. The central institution plans to publish a monthly bibliographical review, charging from 12 to 15 pesos (\$5 or \$6) for an annual subscription. It also proposes to edit works, publish documents, make translations of notable works, prepare catalogues and guides of archives, and acquire and exchange books. It was decided to recommend to the

governments and important intellectual societies of the Americas that local bibliographical institutes be founded, subordinate in a measure to the Ateneo Nacional of the Argentine Republic, with a view to uniformity of objects and methods, the subordinate institutes maintaining correspondence with the central institute. Dr. David Peña was named president of the Institute of the Ateneo Nacional.

Although the programme of the Institute is exceedingly broad, the writer is confident that a practical result of value to North American students may be obtained. This opinion he bases on the exceptional executive ability and scholarship of Dr. Peña, and on the beginning that has already been made by the Ateneo Nacional on its own account.

Of the other business of the congress the following resolutions embodied what is perhaps of most interest to North American scholars:

That the bibliographical reviews now in existence and those which may be founded be urged to publish descriptions of archives of the Americas, indicating the principal divisions of documents, their state of preservation, the means facilitated for their use, and any further information of service to the investigator.

That the national and local governments of the Americas be urged to publish documents concerning the history of the two continents, and the catalogues of their archives, sending a copy of such publications to the bibliographical institute of the Ateneo Nacional of the Argentine Republic.

That steps be taken to urge the publication of national bibliographies on a similar plan, with a view to an eventual bibliography of the Americas. (The scholarly proposer of this resolution, Señor Díaz Pérez, chief of the Biblioteca Nacional of Asunción, has already prepared a select bibliography for Paraguay which will shortly be published.)

That, with a view to a broader mutual understanding between the various countries of the Americas, the congress declares itself in favor of an exchange of professors between North America (the United States) and the Latin American countries, and of the latter among themselves; and of a formal exchange of students between the said countries.

That institutions be urged to send copies of their publications to the Ateneo Nacional of Buenos Aires, and to exchange publications among themselves.

That, in the same manner, the exchange of bibliographical catalogues, whether in book form or in pamphlet, be encouraged.

That a special prize be awarded for the best bibliographical work presented at each succeeding meeting of the congress.

That the proceedings of the present congress be compiled and published in book form. It is planned to include in this volume some of the shorter bibliographical and historical articles of outstanding merit among the many presented to the congress.

In connection with the congress, throughout the sessions, there was an exposition "of the book". Many institutions, including some from North America, sent works for this exposition. Three were specially noteworthy for their amplitude and value, those of the University of Córdoba (Argentina), the Biblioteca Nacional of Asunción, and the private collection of Señor Corbacho of Lima. The last-named consisted of manuscripts from the period of the *conquistadores* to the end of Spanish rule, a truly extraordinary and voluminous collection; and if there are many more of the same type in Lima, that city ought to become an attractive centre for the investigator who goes to the sources.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

## NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

### THE ALLEGED OXFORD COUNCIL OF 1213

AN interesting discussion in this and another review took place in the years 1905 and 1911<sup>1</sup> respectively, on the writ of July 21, 1213, alleged by Roger of Wendover to have been issued with a view to summoning a representative assembly to St. Alban's, with the primary object of assessing the losses sustained by the bishops in the recent quarrel with King John. There would appear to be equal if not greater mystery connected with another writ of the same year, likewise printed in the same well-known collections,<sup>2</sup> and made the basis of somewhat important inferences.

The writ is thus given by Dr. Stubbs:

Rex Vicecomiti Oxon. salutem. Praecipimus tibi quod omnes milites baillivae tuae, qui summoniti fuerunt esse apud Oxoniam ad nos a die Omnium Sanctorum in quindecim dies venire facias cum armis suis; corpora vero baronum sine armis similiter: et quatuor discretos homines de comitatu tuo illuc venire facias ad nos ad eundem terminum ad loquendum nobiscum de negotiis regni nostri. Teste me ipso apud Wytteñ. VII. die Novembris.

Eodem modo scribitur omnibus vicecomitibus.

We now know that, as has recently been pointed out by Miss Levett,<sup>3</sup> the late Bishop of Oxford, in transcribing the writ from the *Report on the Dignity of a Peer*, in which it was printed (though not for the first time) in 1829, accidentally gave *homines* for *milites* in the later part; and this is unfortunate, because Dr. Stubbs, in his commentary, drew from the *homines* rather important conclusions, which have been somewhat too confidently accepted by later writers.<sup>4</sup>

The Bishop comments thus:

It is the first writ in which the "four discreet men" of the county (*sic*) appear as representatives; the first instance of the summoning of the folkmoot to a general assembly by the representative machinery

<sup>1</sup> *English Historical Review*, XX. 289 (H. W. C. Davis); XXI. 297 (G. J. Turner); *American Historical Review*, XVII. 12 (A. B. White).

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, *Select Charters* (fifth ed.), p. 287; Medley, *Original Illustrations of English Constitutional History*, p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXI. 85.

<sup>4</sup> *E. g.*, Gneist, *Verfassungsgeschichte* (trans. Ashworth), p. 270 n.; Maitland, *Constitutional History*, p. 68 (it is only fair to remember that this is a posthumous work); Anson, *Law and Custom* (third ed.), I. 46.

already used for judicial purposes. The four men and the reeve had from time immemorial represented the township in the shire moot; now the four men and the sheriff represent the shire moot in the national council.

But it is clear that there is no hint in the writ itself of any connection with the ancient township representation, still less with that vague and shadowy body the "folk moot"—all that is based upon a mere slip in transliteration. Moreover, the writ, even as given by Dr. Stubbs, affords no authority for the suggestion that the sheriff was to accompany the chosen representatives in their alleged pilgrimage to a central assembly. The well-known words in which such a direction would be given: *et habeas ibi nomina militum et hoc breve*, are not to be found. But, at the risk of destroying a pious legend, which has, however, to the thoughtful reader, always presented great difficulties, it may perhaps be pointed out that the writ in question is open to a construction entirely different from that hitherto accepted.

It is only fair to say that the accepted legend did not originate with Dr. Stubbs. In the oldest modern print known to the writer, that of the Record Office edition of Rymer's *Foedera*,<sup>5</sup> the writ is indexed as "De Summonitione ad Parliamentum Oxon."; but, as the committee from whose report Dr. Stubbs quotes is careful to point out,<sup>6</sup> there is no authority for this rubric on the original roll, which merely gives the writ without title. Sir T. D. Hardy, however, in the Record Commission's edition of the Close Rolls,<sup>7</sup> published in 1833, instead of reprinting the writ itself, expands the title given by the editors of the *Foedera* into an elaborate summary of what he took to be the meaning of the writ, adding merely a reference to the *Foedera*—a proceeding against which, despite the official explanation,<sup>8</sup> it is surely permissible to protest, as both inconvenient and misleading.

To the writer, the crux of the interpretation appears to be in the final words, not of the writ, but of the enrollment. In later times, no doubt, the words, *eodem modo scribitur omnibus vicecomitibus*, would mean that similar writs, with the sole alteration of the address, had been sent to the sheriffs of all the other counties. But can we be sure that, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the practice had been firmly settled? In other words, can we be quite sure

<sup>5</sup> *Chronological Index*, p. xxxv. (1816). The writ is there given as of November 13, which is not only wrong but impossible.

<sup>6</sup> I. 61.

<sup>7</sup> I. 165.

<sup>8</sup> Given by Miss Levett in note 4 to the first page of her article (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI. 85).

that the writ of November 7, 1213, to the sheriff of Buckingham did not bid him assemble his knights at Buckingham, that to the sheriff of Bedford, at Bedford, and so on? Dr. Stubbs, with his usual candor, informs us that there is "no record" of the Council of Oxford having been actually held; and this statement, from a man of Bishop Stubbs's learning, is fairly strong evidence that no such record survives. And yet it seems somewhat unlikely that a Council, of the novelty assumed, should be passed over in silence by the chroniclers. Can it be because it not only did not meet, but because it was never intended to meet?

In addition to the significant fact that the alleged council at Oxford, if it ever took place in the representative form suggested by Dr. Stubbs, would have been an anticipation, by forty years, of the first representative central assembly of which we have actual records, there is a special difficulty which has been previously pointed out,<sup>9</sup> with regard to the date fixed for the alleged meeting. The writ, as given by Dr. Stubbs, allows only eight days for the selection and journey to Oxford of the "four discreet knights" of the county. Such a direction, in the circumstances of the time, would have been a farce, at any rate as regarded the remoter counties. Even assuming that nothing in the way of an election was contemplated, but that the sheriff was simply to pick his knights, there would be required the time to send the writ to, say, Norwich, and for the knights to journey from Norwich to Oxford. The allowance of time, eight days, would have been hopelessly inadequate.

But if the direction had been in each case to summon the four knights *to the shire town*, the writs to the other sheriffs would still, surely, have been *eodem modo* with the writ to the sheriff of Oxford; and the time allowed, though not excessive, would not have been unreasonable.

Nor would it have been without precedent in contemporary practice. The process of choosing four knights of the county to perform legal business dates at least from the Grand Assize of Henry II.; and it seems to have been extending in the early years of the thirteenth century. There is, for example, a writ of the very month and year of the Oxford writ,<sup>10</sup> addressed to the sheriff of Cumberland, bidding him send "four lawful knights" of his county to Carlisle, to witness a choice of attorneys by two litigants; and it is probable that a further study of the rolls would reveal similar instances. Another

<sup>9</sup> *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI. 87.

<sup>10</sup> *Rot. Claus.*, I. 139.



writ of the same year,<sup>11</sup> on the assessment of damages due to the bishops, alluded to by Mr. Turner,<sup>12</sup> and said, apparently without justification, to be found on the Patent Rolls, directs the commissioners to attend at times and places to be fixed by the respective bishops. Is there any suggestion here of a central assembly?

The whole position is complicated by the fact that the writ of November 7, 1213, is obviously supplementary to an earlier writ which appears to have summoned *all* the knights of the shire; and this earlier writ, seemingly, does not survive. But it would appear to have been of a military, rather than a political character; and, regard being had to the circumstances of the time, it seems to be equally arguable that such a writ would be directed toward securing one central or many local gatherings. On the one hand, an army dispersed among thirty-seven different centres is not of much military value; on the other, John may well have hesitated, in view of his quarrel with the barons, to summon the whole feudal forces of the country to a single spot. Such a step might have placed an overwhelming force at the disposal of his opponents.

EDWARD JENKS.

#### THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL

IN 1896 Professor Wolfgang Michael published the first volume of his *Englische Geschichte im Achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, in which he described the structure and working of the cabinet for this period, an account which he afterwards elaborated in various special studies, the most important, perhaps, being "Die Entstehung der Kabinettsregierung in England", which appeared in 1913.<sup>1</sup> These writings are endowed with qualities well known in the contributions of their eminent author, and for the students of the cabinet they have the particular merit that portions of them are based on materials made known for the first time from the archives of Hanover, Vienna, and Berlin. Probably what relates to the history of the cabinet before 1700 is founded upon inadequate information, and further search in the English sources would have revealed data which apparently the author has not used; but I wish here to acknowledge the excellence of most of what relates to the period subsequent. With one of the conclusions, however, I do not agree, and this conclusion pertains to a matter of great importance in the history of cabinet development.

<sup>11</sup> *Foedera*, I. 114. The writ is, seemingly, on the Close Rolls (see *Rot. Claus.*, I. 164), not on the Patent Rolls, as stated by the *Foedera*.

<sup>12</sup> *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXI. 299.

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift für Politik*, VI. 549-593.

One of the things which most perplexes students of this subject is that in the period after 1688, along with various committees, undoubtedly of the privy council, appears a so-called "committee of council" with members often denoted "lords of the committee", evidently in close relation with the cabinet, but with a relationship very difficult to ascertain. Professor Michael has dealt in some detail with the question of cabinet and committee of council. He comments at length upon the meetings recorded in the Buccleuch MSS. of Montagu House, and considers them to be records of cabinet meetings.<sup>2</sup> He condemns the editor for designating these records as "Privy Council Minutes", and rightly; but elsewhere I have had to note that he himself fails to observe that several of the meetings are by participants described as committees of council.<sup>3</sup> Even at this time, then, I may remark, cabinet and committee of council appear in some instances virtually indistinguishable. Before 1714, and for some years afterward, he says, the term-cabinet was applied only to a meeting at which the sovereign was present; nevertheless, in the time of Anne the cabinet councillors often assembled without the queen, but then they met as a committee to deliberate in respect of business about which report was afterwards to be made to the queen in the cabinet. So, there arose the distinction between the cabinet council and the committee of the cabinet council, in accordance with whether the queen was present or not. Committee of the cabinet council, he says, is usually given by contemporaries in shorter form as committee of council. It is not a separate assembly beside the cabinet and the privy council, but a committee of the cabinet without the sovereign presiding. From this cabinet committee comes the cabinet of later times when the absence of the king had become a permanent custom.<sup>4</sup>

I have had reason to comprehend the difficulty of explaining with satisfactory precision the exact nature of the committee of council, and no one would welcome more than myself a definition so clear-cut as this; but grave objections discover themselves. In the first place, so far as I can judge, Professor Michael's warrant for speaking of the "committee of the cabinet council" lies only in a single expression of the Prussian resident, Bonet, who, in a communication of 1715, speaks of the "Comité du Conseil du Cabinet"; and thereupon the author does not hesitate to identify it with the com-

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 556.

<sup>3</sup> *English Historical Review*, XXXI. (forthcoming article).

<sup>4</sup> *Zeitschrift für Politik*, VI. 557, 564, 565; *Englische Geschichte*, I. 439, 440; see also Salomon, *Geschichte des Letzten Ministeriums Königin Annas von England*, p. 356, note.

mittee of council so often mentioned by Bolingbroke and others.<sup>5</sup> Undoubtedly Bonet, though a foreigner, was well informed, but some years ago in commenting upon this passage I observed that, so far as I am aware, for more than a generation thereafter this expression occurs nowhere in the very numerous allusions made by English contemporaries to the various assemblies in which they took part, nor does Professor Michael adduce any evidence thereto pertinent.<sup>6</sup> Further, I find no warrant for the assumption that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the meaning of the word "committee" contained the fundamental idea that a body was assembling without its presiding officer in place. The House of Commons without the speaker in the chair could be a committee of the whole house, but evidence is wanting to show that similar metamorphosis took place when the sovereign was absent from the privy council or the cabinet. "Committee" signified originally, and long continued to mean, a person or a number of persons to whom something was committed to be done. Even if this were not so, however, the theory in question is based upon the assumption that the sovereign did not attend the committee of council, but notwithstanding the fact that cabinet and committee of the council are usually to be distinguished in the presence of the sovereign at the one and his absence from the other, yet the undoubted presence of the sovereign can be shown at numerous meetings of the committee. William attended most of the "committees of council" reported by Secretary Trenchard in 1694;<sup>7</sup> the frequent presence of Anne is revealed in the entry books of the secretaries and in contemporary correspondence;<sup>8</sup> and on one occasion as late as 1729 Queen Caroline was present.<sup>9</sup> The error which I have attempted here to point out, that the lords of the committee of council were a committee of the cabinet council, has been adopted, if I understand him aright, by another author, who continues the argument with the idea, perhaps, that a committee may be supposed to be smaller than the parent body, and thus fortifies his contention that there was a *conciliabulum* or inner cabinet in the time of Anne.<sup>10</sup>

With regard to the committee of council also I wish to amplify a former explanation of my own. In a paper written in 1913 on the early history of the cabinet, I undertook, as seemed well, to

<sup>5</sup> *Zeitschrift für Politik*, VI. 568.

<sup>6</sup> *American Historical Review*, XVIII. 763, 764.

<sup>7</sup> See *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI.

<sup>8</sup> See *Report of Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Frankland-Russell-Astley MSS., p. 124.

<sup>9</sup> See *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI.

<sup>10</sup> H. W. V. Temperley, *ibid.*, XXVII. 692, 693.

treat of the problem of the lords of the committee. I explained, as Mr. J. Munro had done, that after 1688 the process of development of committees of the privy council was not for the most part as theretofore, in the direction of standing committees which were parts of the council, but almost entirely towards committees of the whole council, until at last there was practically one committee, devoting itself to different tasks and acting under different names, attended by only a few of the privy councillors, but in theory, at any rate, a committee of the whole privy council.<sup>11</sup> What I then undertook incidentally I have since worked out in minute detail, and in this far the earlier conclusions are amply substantiated.<sup>12</sup> But my principal purpose then was to explain the "committee of council" of William's time and the "lords of the committee" of Anne and of George I., and I now think that I identified this assembly too closely with the committee of the whole privy council, though I did it with some uncertainty and with cautious and doubtful phrase.<sup>13</sup> Since then I have devoted myself specially to this problem also, and recently dealt with it at length.<sup>14</sup> I should not, therefore, except for the sake of additional clearness have to mention the subject in this place, except that when the late Sir William Anson very generously alluded to my earlier work, he attempted to summarize my statements more exactly than I had dared, and understood me to mean that the lords of the committee in Bolingbroke's day were a general purpose committee of the privy council, produced by the blending of the various privy council committees manned largely by the same leading members into one committee of the whole privy council; that this committee was quite distinct from the cabinet; and that consequently the cabinet was in no sense an offshoot of any committee of the council.<sup>15</sup> I am not responsible for the deduction, but this interpretation is probably what one was justified in making; so that I feel it necessary to allude to my more recent review of the subject in which there is an attempt to show by means of statistics tabulated from the Registers of the privy council and from other sources, that the committee of the whole privy council had a more fluctuating and inclusive membership than the meetings of the lords of the committee of council; that while this latter committee may have been regarded theoretically as a committee of the whole council, and probably, so far as it persisted, in the end became so ac-

<sup>11</sup> *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII. 758, 759.

<sup>12</sup> *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI.

<sup>13</sup> *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII. 759-761.

<sup>14</sup> *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIX. 325.

tually, yet this was far from being so in the days of its greatness; that "committee of council" in this particular sense seems for a while merely to denote the cabinet councillors sitting in capacity of privy councillors in a private gathering or committee, probably an informal one; that the assembly of the "lords" seems to have been made up of the same men who composed the cabinet council; and that hence "committee of council" was frequently used to denote a body which was apparently the cabinet sitting under another name. If such be the case, I may add that this tends to support the notion that the cabinet was then in some manner after all regarded as a committee of the privy council.

EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER.

#### GERRY AND THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION IN 1813

ON Monday, May 18, 1812, less than a month after Vice-President Clinton's death in office at the age of seventy-three years, a Congressional caucus named James Madison for a second term in the presidency, and cast a majority of its eighty-two votes for John Langdon of New Hampshire as vice-president. Ten days later (May 28) Langdon, writing from his home in Portsmouth, being past seventy years old and disinclined to assume further official responsibilities, declined the honor.<sup>1</sup> As it happened, he was the first of a number of men formally nominated by a leading party to the second office who have deliberately refused the summons. A second caucus, held in Washington on June 8 and gathered for the single purpose of filling the vacancy, named Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts for the place. Gerry was glad to accept the honor thrust upon him just ten days before our declaration of war against Great Britain. Because of his outspoken loyalty to the war policy of Madison, he had recently lost the chance of a third term as governor of Massachusetts.

Gerry was a tried politician grown old in the service of his country. A graduate of Harvard College (1762), delegate to the Continental Congress and signer of the Declaration of Independence, member of the Convention of 1787, whose draft of the Constitution he refused to sign, Representative from Massachusetts in the national House during Washington's first term as President, later (1797) envoy extraordinary to France, and after the lapse of many years governor (1810-1812) of his native state, he was securely established as a man of high reputation and many useful accomplishments. He took his seat for the first time as presiding officer over

<sup>1</sup> Letter printed in *National Intelligencer*, Thursday, June 11.

Senate deliberations on Monday, May 24, 1813, at the opening of the session. His inaugural address of unusual length paid high tribute to Madison (then directing the war) in a manner sure to call forth favorable comment from Gerry's discerning biographer.<sup>2</sup>

There was but one feature of Gerry's limited term as Vice-President—he died in office on November 23, 1814—which has some significance at the present day. As recently as 1903, Senator George F. Hoar commented briefly upon it.<sup>3</sup> Presiding over the session of the Senate which opened on May 24, Vice-President Gerry held his seat as chairman to the very close on Monday, August 2, 1813, refusing in the face of a well-established custom to retire from his place a day or so before the time of adjournment in order to make way for a president of the Senate *pro tempore*. The custom rested upon the law of succession of March 1, 1792: in case of the removal, death, resignation, or inability of both the President and the Vice-President, the succession went to the President of the Senate *pro tempore*; and if there were no such officer, it went to the Speaker of the House of Representatives. With a president *pro tempore* to fall back upon in case of the death of both President and Vice-President, there was slight probability that the presidency would lapse during a recess of Congress into the hands of the Speaker. And the Senate as the more permanent body of Congress showed, soon after the law of March 1, 1792, became effective, its control in this respect over a possible emergency by providing near the close of its sessions for a president *pro tempore*. The practice, which was begun under John Adams, was probably looked upon as established by Jefferson's consistently retiring throughout his term as Vice-President a day or so before the Senate's adjournment. Vice-President Burr retired on April 16, 1802—the session closing the next day—"agreeably to practice".<sup>4</sup> What reasons were there, it may be asked, which should have induced Gerry, an old man, to hold the chairmanship to the close of the session in spite of a well-recognized and established custom?

<sup>2</sup> James T. Austin, *Life of Elbridge Gerry* (1829), II. 384 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Autobiography of Seventy Years*, II. 169.

<sup>4</sup> From 1789 to 1791 Vice-President Adams himself adjourned the Senate sessions. On Tuesday, April 17, 1792, he withdrew from the Senate on account of illness in his family. Though he appears to have presided throughout the special session (Monday, June 8–Friday, June 26, 1795) concerned with the Jay Treaty, the Senate by that time had probably fallen into a practice which Jefferson did much to fix as a custom. The first notable breach of the custom after Jefferson's term was Gerry's in 1813. In May, 1881, Vice-President Arthur acted on Gerry's principle, although the circumstances of the situation were entirely different from those of 1813.

The first session of the Thirteenth Congress was called at a very unusual time, on Monday, May 24, 1813.<sup>5</sup> The war against Great Britain was going badly under Madison's timid and ineffectual direction. In general, our foreign relations under Secretary Monroe's supervision were complicated and troublesome. Neither army nor navy was adequately equipped or capably directed. And with Albert Gallatin, a very able Secretary of the Treasury, out of the country on a peace mission, and our national finances at a low ebb, public sentiment, being much divided, had forced into both Senate and House inharmonious elements. The Federalist minority acted as a peace party. In the Senate in particular there existed what A. J. Dallas termed "a malcontent junto of self-styled Republicans",<sup>6</sup> led by such bitter opponents of the administration as William B. Giles of Virginia and Samuel Smith of Maryland; this junto, allied with discontented Federalists such as Rufus King of New York, hampered Madison's loyal following at every turn.

"Giles has just taken his seat in [the] Senate", wrote the observant young Webster on June 7, "and has put a claw on Gallatin. The President will be hard pushed in the Senate." Four days later (June 11) he remarked: "Giles has no mercy. . . . I should not be surprised if they should drive Madison *to* and Gallatin *from* the Treasury."<sup>7</sup> On June 28 Monroe informed Jefferson at Monticello that Madison's enemies were counting on the presumed death of Madison and Gerry, and that "Giles is thought of to take the place of the President of the Senate as soon as the Vice-President withdraws".<sup>8</sup> When, on July 19, the Senate by one vote defeated Gallatin's nomination as peace-envoy with John Quincy Adams and James A. Bayard, a notable effort of the opposition against the administration was settled. At the moment President Madison was slowly recovering from a serious and prolonged attack of bilious fever which had threatened his life since early June. As late in the summer as July 29, just four days before the Senate adjourned, Mrs. Madison regarded her husband's convalescence as "precarious".<sup>9</sup>

Several weeks before the adjournment on August 2, a group of Senators tried to induce Gerry in accordance with custom to withdraw and thus to make way for a president of the Senate *pro tempore*. Another group, presumably loyal to the administration, urged

<sup>5</sup> Law of February 27, 1813. *Statutes at Large*, II. 804.

<sup>6</sup> H. Adams, *Life of Albert Gallatin*, p. 488.

<sup>7</sup> C. H. Van Tyne, *Letters of Daniel Webster*, pp. 38, 40.

<sup>8</sup> *Writings of James Monroe* (ed. Hamilton), V. 272-273.

<sup>9</sup> H. Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 487-488.



the Vice-President to remain and adjourn the body. Considering the predicament of war, the serious illness of Madison, and the factional and unruly forces in the Senate, Gerry felt himself, as he explained, "to be differently circumstanced from any of his predecessors", and was under obligations to hold his post until the completion of the business of the session.<sup>10</sup>

There was a chance—already acknowledged by Monroe to Jefferson, as I have shown—that neither Gerry nor Madison would survive the summer. Should he, by withdrawing before the close of the session, give Senator Giles or some other powerful but probably disaffected member, an opportunity to succeed to the presidency? In case the country should be suddenly left without a President and Vice-President might it not be safer to make way for the brilliant young Speaker of the House, Henry Clay, who had already seen service in the Senate, was a loyal supporter of Madison, and in thorough accord with the administration's attitude toward the war?

The longer one ponders the peculiar circumstances of the Congressional situation during the summer and autumn of 1813, the stronger becomes the conviction that Clay as a possible successor to Madison and Gerry in accordance with the law of 1792 must have been in men's minds. Yet there appears to be only circumstantial and very indirect evidence of the conviction. When, in 1811, Clay entered the House of Representatives and there quickly gained the place of a leader, Randolph of Roanoke declared that the young Kentuckian had already fixed his eyes upon the presidency.<sup>11</sup> Fate was against him in 1813, for Madison survived his illness, and Vice-President Gerry died in November, 1814, while Clay was aiding in the peace settlement abroad. Thereafter for nearly forty years Clay sought the honor of the Presidency from an open-eyed public, but he sought it in vain.

HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

<sup>10</sup> See Gerry's very unusual speech on the subject delivered on April 18, 1814, just before he withdrew from the Senate according to custom. *Annals of Congress*, 13 Cong., 2 sess., pt. I., pp. 776-778. Cf. Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings* (June, 1914), XLVII. 502.

<sup>11</sup> Hugh A. Garland, *The Life of John Randolph of Roanoke*, I. 306.

## DOCUMENTS

### *Documents in Swiss Archives relating to Emigration to American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*<sup>1</sup>

#### A. VERBATIM REPORTS OF TRIALS OF SWISS CITIZENS SUSPECTED OF BEING EMIGRANT AGENTS.

##### I. BESPRECHUNG DER CANTZLEÏ BEÏ DEM HIER ANGEHALTENEN PETER HUBER VON OBERHASLI. 1742.<sup>2</sup>

Verlesen den 3 ten Martÿ 1742.

- Befr.* Wie er heisse, wie alt und woher er seÿe?  
*Ant.* Peter Huber von Ober Hasli in Wÿsland,<sup>3</sup> in circa 36. Jahr alt.  
*Befr.* Von was Profession er seÿe?  
*Ant.* Ein Schuhmacher.  
*Befr.* Was die Ursach seiner verhaft?  
*Ant.* Wÿsse es nicht, bilde sich ein, es seÿe wegen denen Leuthen, so hier seÿen and weiters wollen, welches denen Ständen vielleicht zu wieder seÿe.  
*Befr.* Wo er von hier hab hinreisen wollen?  
*Ant.* Auf Calais in franckhreich seÿ er willens gewesen zu reisen.  
*Befr.* Was er zu Calais machen wolle?  
*Ant.* Von dar hab er ùbers Wasser nachher Haus in Carolina reisen wollen, er seÿ schon seith 1734 in Carolina Haushäblich, letzten Sommer aber seÿ er heraus komen, sein Waib und zweÿ Kinder, so er dazumahlen zu Haslin zurùckgelassen abzuholen.  
*Befr.* Ob er selbige nun beÿ sich habe?  
*Ant.* Ja, und ein Kind hab er schon in A<sup>o</sup> 1734 mit sich genommen, welches noch daselbst seÿe.  
*Befr.* Ob er aussert seinem Waib und Kinder keine Reisegefährten habe?  
*Ant.* Ja, seine Schwester bringe ihm seinen Bündel nach, und dann seÿ Barbara Horger von Oberhaslin auch beÿ ihm.  
*Befr.* Ob er nicht mehrere Reis gefährten habe.  
*Ant.* Es seÿen wohl mehrere Persohnen hier, die ihn aber nichts angehen.  
*Befr.* Ob nicht auch Leuth von Interlackhen beÿ ihm seÿen?  
*Ant.* Nein, wÿsse von keinen nichts.

<sup>1</sup> These documents are contributed by Professor A. B. Faust of Cornell University and were found in the course of the investigations made by him for the Carnegie Institution of Washington, resulting in his *Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives* (Washington, 1916). See his article on "Swiss Emigration to the American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century", pp. 21-44 above.

<sup>2</sup> Staatsarchiv, Basel, Auswanderung A.

<sup>3</sup> I. e., in the Bernese Oberland.

- Befr.* Was er seith seinem letzten Aufenthalt im Bernischen geschafet.  
*Ant.* Hab seine Freund besuchet, und seine aus Carolina gehabte Commissionen verrichtet, so darin bestanden, dass er zu Interlackhen und Hasli für einige in Carolina etwas Gelts bezogen, er sey zwar in Verdacht kommen, ob wickhle er das Volckh auf, und sey deswegen auf Bern berufen und von einer Commission besprochen und wieder nacher Haus gesandt worden, weilen er hierinen unschuldig erfunden worden, er könnte auch wegn der lang Reis solches mit gutem Gewüssen niemand rahten.
- Befr.* Ob er Erlaubniss erhalten wieder in Carolinam zu kehren?  
*Ant.* Ja, sonsten würde man ihm nicht einen Pass ertheilt haben.
- Befr.* Welch weg er hieher genommen?  
*Ant.* Er hab gehört, dass verschiedene von Interlackhen Lust haben, in Carolinam zu ziehen, weilen er nun schon im Verdacht gewesen, als wickhle er die Leuth darzu auf, damit nun selbige nicht mit ihm ziehen und der Verdacht vergrössert werde, sey er über den Brüning<sup>4</sup> nach Luzern und von dannen hieher kommen.
- Befr.* Ob er mit denen übrig abgeredt, allhier auf einander zu warten?  
*Ant.* Nein, allein mit seiner Schwester, die er noch mit seinem Küstlin erwarde, hab er solches abgeredt.
- Vorgehalten es verlaute aber, dass er im Oberland die Leuth aufgemahnt habe mit ihm zu ziehn.
- Ant.* Nein, es werde solches auch niemand mit Wahrheith auf ihn ausgeben; wan solches von ihm geschehen wäre, seine Gn. Herren würden ihn schon verwahrt haben.

## 2. ABHÖRUNG EINIGER BERNISCHEN EMIGRANTEN. 1742.<sup>5</sup>

Auf dasjenige schreiben, welches Lobl. Stand Bern den 3 Martii, 1742 wegen einigen dero Emigranten die von Peter Huber zu solcher vorhabenden Reis verführt worden seyn sollen, haben Meine G. Herren erkannt, dass diesen Emigranten die gnädige Vorschläge und anerbithen so L. Stand Bern in obgedachtem schreiben ihnen anerbithet, solten eröffnet, deren Antworthen vernommen und zugleich die aufhebenden Päss abgeforderet werden.

Welches dan Alles von seithen d. Cantzleÿ folgender massen volzogen worden.

*No. 1.* Abraham Leuthold von Oberhasle 35 Jahr alt, Weib und 5 Kinder.

*B.* wer Ihne zu diser Reis varanlasset?

*A.* der Peter Huber.

*B.* wo er hin wolle?

*A.* in Carolinam.

*B.* Ob er nicht auf das Gnädige anerbithen L. Standts Bern wider zurück kehren wolle?

*A.* weilen auf der Cantzel verlesen worden, dass man fortziehen könne, so seÿe er fortgezogen und habe einen Pass bekommen; weilen aber seiner G. Herren willen, dass er wider zurück solle, so wolle

<sup>4</sup> The Brüning Pass.

<sup>5</sup> Staatsarchiv, Basel, Auswanderung A.

er auf dero anerbiethen widerum zurück und habe das gnädige Zutrauen, seine G. Herren werden für Ihne sorgen und mit Weib und Kind nicht verderben lassen.

No. 2. Hans Trachsel sambt Weib und einem Kind von St. Stephan.

B. wer ihne zu diser Reis verführt?

A. niemand, auch der Peter Huber nicht, sonderen habe sich solches vorgenommen, darmit er sich besser ernähren könnte; es werde ihne auch nichts mehr von diser Reis abwendig machen.

No. 3. Peter Burgener von Grindelwald, 45 Jahr alt, hat 4 Kinder bey sich.

B. was Ihne zu der Reis naher Carolinam veranlasset?

A. weilen andere arme Leuth geschrieben, dass es Ihnen wohlgehe.

B. Ob ihne den Peter Huber nicht hierzu verführet?

A. Nein.

B. Ob er nicht auf seiner G. H. anerbiethen widerum naher Haus wolte?

A. weilen er zu Haus keine nahrung habe, so wolte er lieber sterben als zurückkehren.

No. 4. Heinrich Balmholtzer 35 Jahr alt von Oberhasle.

B. wer ihne zu diser Reis verführet?

A. Niemand, als er selbst seye von seiner Frau und Kinderen weg, und wolle ohneracht des gnädigen anerbiethens dennoch nicht zurückkehren.

No. 5. Caspar Negelin von Oberhaslin ein lediger kerle 34 Jahr alt sagt er habe niemahlen im Sinn gehabt naher Carolinam sonderen wolle widerum naher Holland alwo er laut vorgewiesenen Abscheid von H. Hauptmann Tschanner schon gedient habe.

No. 6. Peter Negelin von Oberhasli 42 Jahr Alt, sambt Weib 6 Kinder. sagt aus die Armuth habe Ihne aus dem Land getrieben und wolle, ohngeacht seiner G. Herren versprechen, dennoch nicht zurückkehren.

endet.

No. 7. Peter Weltsch 23 Jahr alt von Oberhasle sagt dass ihne niemand verführet und er als ein lediger kerle in der Welt herum sein brod suchen wolle.

endet.

No. 8. Hans Egger sambt einem Weib und kind 29 Jahr alt von Grindelwald. will aus respect zu seinen Gnädigen, auf dero Gn. anerbiethen und der Hoffnung dass sie als Vättern für Ihne sorgen und etwas zu seiner erhaltung steuern werden, widerum zurückreisen.

Hans Bali von Oberhasli 37 Jahr sambt Frau und Kind, hat Sein pass verlohren, massen er sich schon vor etlichen Tagen um ein neuen pass by d. Cantzleÿ angemeldet, welcher aber Ihme abgeschlagen worden. wolle aus respect gegen seine Gnädigen Herren, auf dero anerbiethen und in der Hoffnung dass sie Ihme in Gnaden beistehen werden, wider zurückkehren.

endet.

Barbara Hargerin 33 Jahr alt eine Wittib von Oberhasle sambt einem Kind, hat kein pass. sagt weilen dero Vatter Heinrich Harger in Oranienburg<sup>6</sup> in Carolina seye so wolle sie einmahlen zu deme reisen, habe zu Haus weder Freund noch Gelt und wüsse sich nicht zu erhalten.  
endet.

No. 9. Jacob Negelin von Oberhasle 45 Jahr alt, sambt Weib und 3 Kinderen sagt aus es habe Ihne die Armuth aus dem Land getrieben, daher er in Gottes namen weiters ziehen wolle.  
endet.

No. 10. Christen Brawand [Brerand?] von Grindelwald 26 Jahr alt sambt einer Frauen. sagt weilen er einen pass erhalten, dass er fortziehen könne, so wolle er fort und werde Ihne niemand abhalten.

Ohngeachtet nun disen Leuthen allen Zuspruch beschehen so sind doch die meisten in ihrem vorhaben bestanden und haben so gar mit ungestühm die abgenommenen päss widerum zurück haben wollen, mit vorgeben, dass sie nicht so viel Gelt haben, dass sie länger hier zehren können.

### 3. VERHÖR PETER HUBER. 1742.<sup>7</sup>

Demnach der zu Basel arrestirte Peter Huber wegen Verdachts ob hätte Er Leüthe in hiesigen Landen angeworben, nach Carolina in america zu führen, auf Ihr Gnd. Befehl anhero gebracht worden, habend dero Dienern mwHr.<sup>8</sup> Gross Weibel Fischer und der Grichtschreiber heüte Dato folgendes Examen mit demselben gehalten.

- F. Wer Er seye? Wie alt? Woher? Was begangenschaft Er habe?
- A. Er seye Peter Huber, von ohngefahr 36 Jahren alters, gebürtig von ober Hassli, seines handwerks Ein Schumacher. Er habe Ein Weib und drey Kinder, darvon Eines in Carolina.
- F. Wessenwegen Er sich in hiesiger gefangenschaft befinde?
- A. Er könnte solches nicht Eigentlich sagen, inmassen Er seines Wissens nichts gefehlet habe.
- F. Ihme seye in wissen, dass vor etwelchen Jahren verschiedene Haushaltungen auss hiesigen Landen nach Carolina gezogen, auf MrgHrn gethann Lands Vätterliche Vorstellungen aber, seyend viele wieder darvon abgehalten worden, und wäre diessorths alles stille gewesen, biss Er Huber wieder in das Land gekommen und verschiedene zu der unbesonnene Carolina-Reise angefrischet.
- A. Er habe niemand zu dieser Reise angefrischet, und diessorths nichts unternommen, alss dass Er denen so Ihne gefragt, nach seiner Einfalt das Land in gutem und bösen beschrieben, angerathen noch eingeladen habe Er nicht, in dem gegentheil Er habe allerorthen die weite und beschwehrliche Reise Vorgestellet.
- F. Ob Er denn Laugnen dörffe, dass Er nicht Leüthe mit Ihme wegführen wollen?

<sup>6</sup> Orangeburg, S. C.

<sup>7</sup> Staatsarchiv, Bern, Thurn Buch der Statt Bern, Novemb. 1740–Marty 1742.

<sup>8</sup> Mein Würdiger Herr. "MrgHrn", below, is Meiner Gnädigen Herren.

- A. Er habe niemand wegführen wollen, alss seine Schwester, und einem Welschen Jacob Lanu welcher 7 Jahr droben in dem Bergwerk gearbeitet; dieser habe Ihme Inquisiten sehr oft nachgetreten und angehalten Ihme mit sich zu nemmen, welches Er aber öfters aussgeschlagen, auch vorgewendet, dass solches verboten seye, H. Havre aber der Inspector bei dem bergwerk habe Ihnen verdeütet, der Lanu seye ein freyer Mensch, Er könne gehen wohin Er wolle, habe ihnen hierauf einen accord aufgesetzt und diesen Tractat selbstn veranlasset, massen Er Inquisit nicht mit dem Welschen Reden können.

Hierauf wurde der Lanu dem Huber unter augen gestellet, und obschon Er Lanu in der hiervor aufgenommenen Information den Huber angeklagt, ob hätte dieser Ihme zu der Carolina Reise angefrischet und Ihme das Land angerüehmet, auch dass Er dem Huber 20 K.<sup>9</sup> auf die Reise geben müssen, hat dieser Lanu dermalen bekennen und gestehen müssen, das Er auss Eigenem trieb gehen wollen, und dahero dem Huber mehrmahlen angehalten Ihme mit sich zu nemmen, ohne, dass der Huber Ihme darvon gesagt habe, im übrigen habe Er nur 10 K. auf die Reise gegeben, die übrigen 10 K. aber seithero verzehret, und ob Er schon ehemalen die sache anders erzehlet, verhalte es sich dennoch also, und habe er es damalen nicht Recht verstanden, dass Hubers Schwester habe Ihme zwarn mehrmalen gesagt, Er solle auch mit Ihnen kommen, aber ohne Ihme darzu anzustrengen oder Ihme solches sonderbar einzuschwätzen, sondern Er habe freywillig und von sich selbstn die Resolution genommen.

- F. ob nicht Peter Scherz von Aeschi nach Unterseen zu Ihme Huber gekommen, und Ihne befragt ob Er Scherz alss Ein Wäber mit Weib und Kinden in Carolina sich wohl durchbringen könnte?
- A. der Scherz seye zu Ihme Bey der Zollbrück gekomme, habe Ihn allerhand von dem Land gefragt, seye auch mit Ihme nach Tracht über den See gefahren allda übernachtet und Ihme 20 bz.<sup>10</sup> geben, sich in seine gunsten zu recommendieren, mithin habe Er Huber Ihme Scherz deütlich gesagt, es seyend mehr als genug Wäber in dem Lande, Er Huber dörffe niemand wegführen, und habe Er Scherz zu wenig gelt auf Eine so weite Reise, welche Er Ihme weder abgewehret noch angerathen der Scherz habe ihme nachwerts zwey briefe geschrieben, worauf Er Huber aber nicht geantwortet; dieses seye alles was Er von dem Scherz wisse.
- F. Ob er nicht auch dem Hans äbiger von Wildersweil zu der Carolina Reise angefrischet.
- A. Nein! der äbiger seye zu Ihme Huber an dem ScheiEgg gekommen, nach seinen bekanten in Carolina fragend derdeütende Er hätte auch Lust dahin, und wie es dorten mit der Jagd bewandt seye, worüber Inquisit das Land in etwas beschrieben, auch um fusil gefragt, welches der äbiger Ihme angebotte, weiters habend sie nichts mit Einander g'redt.
- F. ob Er nicht den Abraham Lüthold zu dieser Reise veranlasset.
- A. Nein! Er habe niemanden gerathen dahin zu gehen sondern diesem wie andern, auf Befrage das Land in seinem guten und auch in den Beschwerden beschrieben, weiters wisse Er nichts.

<sup>9</sup> Kronen. The Bernese crown equalled about three-quarters of a dollar.

<sup>10</sup> Batzen. The batzen equalled about three cents.

- F. ob Er nicht Barbara Horger Heinrich Isslers von Usters, aus dem Zürichgebieth, Wittib mit Ihme geführt und von Ihra 20 K. genommen.
- A. Ihr Vatter, Muter und geschwisterte seyend in Carolina, habend Ihne ersucht, Sie mit sich hinein zu bringen, Ihre auch zu geschrieben worauf Sie mit gutheissen Ihres Vettern Ihme 20 K.<sup>11</sup> gegeben, welche er abgenommen, und geglaubt dass sie nach dem ehemaligen Mandat wohl gehen könne.
- F. Ob Er nicht denen so nach Carolina Reisen wollen gesagt Sie werdend Ihne zu Basel oder der Enden antreffen?
- A. Er habe niemand nichts gesagt, alss seiner Schwester, welche Erst nach Ihme verreisen könne.
- F. Wie Er von Ober Hassli weg gereiset seye?
- A. Alss Er vernommen, dass viele Leütthe nach Carolina ziehen wollen, habe er allen Verdacht auss zu weichen sich über den Brünig gemachet, und seye niemand mit Ihme gegangen, alss die Horgerin.
- F. Er werde doch dem Lanu gesagt haben, wo derselbe Ihne antreffe, und sage der Lanu er habe Ihme gesagt Er solle mit denen anderen gehen aber nicht wo Er Ihne antreffe?
- A. Er habe seiner Schwester gesagt den Lanu mit zu nemmen, und dass Er mit dene so Bewilligung haben, kommen solle.
- F. Er habe ja den Lanu zu dem Ulli Müller verdinget biss zu Ihrer Abreise, müsse sich also mit denen anderen beabredet haben?
- A. Der Müller habe selbstn angeboten den Lanu biss zu seiner abreise zu Erhalten, weiters habe Er weder mit diesem noch anderen nichts geredt.
- Justirt Er wolle mit der Sprach nicht heraus, es seye doch clar an dem Tag, dass Er die armen Leütthe verführet, Ihnen das Land trefflich beschrieben und dieselben zu der unbesonnenen Abreise angefrischet, Er solle also nur bekennen und die Pure Warheit sagen, damit Er desto Ehender Gnad Erlange.
- A. Er habe durchauss die Pure Warheit geredet und wisse Er nicht gefehlet zu haben, wo er gefehlet hätte wäre Ihme solches hêrzlich Leid, und bitte Er um gnad und Erlassung, Er habe sein Mann- und Land-recht aufgegeben, Im übrigen niemanden verführet noch angefrischet massen Er auch von so vielen diessorths vernommen Leütthen nur das geringste nicht wisse, auch selbige nicht Kenne, und werde Ihne kein mensch unter augen anklagen, dass Er jemanden angeworben, angerathen, noch anzuwerben gesucht.
- actum d. 15t Marty 1742.

Demme nach MwHrn. Gross Weibel Fischer glaubwürdig hinderbracht worden, wie dass der inhaftierte Peter Huber der Schumacher

<sup>11</sup> Huber gave Barbara Horger a receipt for this amount, a copy of which was found in the Staatsarchiv of Basel, Auswanderung A, as follows: "pro Copia. Den 9ten Tag Hornung 1742 Jahr. Hab ich unterschriebener Geld empfangen, von Babi Horger von Ober Hassli in Wissland 20 Bären [Bern] Cronen, ich sage zwanzig Bären Cronen, dafür hab ich ire versprochen zu gaben, sobald wir in Carolina in Aronisz Burg [Orangeburg, S. C.] werden angelangt sein, 2 Kü mit Kalber für das obige Geld zu bezahlen.—Ich PETER HUBER bekenne wie obset."



von Oberhasle, vor paar Tagen seinen Lands Leüthen auss der gefangenschaft zum Fenster hinauss, ein Zedulein zu geworffén, darauff geschriben gewesen seyn, Sie, seine Lands Leüth so annoch Lust habind mit Ihme zu Reisen sollind nur trachten etwas zeits sich im neuen Burgergebieth<sup>12</sup> auf zu halten, Wann er einmalen auss der gefangenschaft komme, so wolle Er denn zu Ihnen kommen und Sie mit sich nach Carolina nemmen; hat wohlgedacht MwHr.Gross-Weibel seiner pflicht zu seyn erachtet, Ehe und bevor das ite mit dem Huber sub 15te hujus vorgegangene Examen vorgetragen werde, sich nachmalen in die obere gefangenschaft zu begeben und diesen Huber sich vorstellen zu lassen; denselben aber zum vorauss auf das aller kräftigste zu ermahnen, sein Herz zu raumen, Gott zu Ehren und nach dem Willen der Hohen Obrigkeit die Pure Wahrheit auss-zu-sagen um nicht dero hohe ungnad auf sich zu laden; Worüber hinauf heüte Dato mit Ihme Huber volgendes ztes Examen gehalten werden.

- F. Wie und wohin Er die Jenigen Leüthe, so mit nach Carolina Reisen wollen, Bescheiden, und wo Er Ihnen habe warten wollen, denn es der Vernunft wiedrig wäre zu glauben, dass diese Leüthe insgesamt von ohngefehrt also auf Basel oder Heuningen gereiset wären? Wann Er Ihnen nichts hätte gesagt oder sagen lassen.
- A. Ein mahlen habe Er niemanden keinen orth vernamset, wo Er sich aufhalten oder seiner Schwester warten wolle; Es müsste von ungefehrt geschehen seyn, dass in allgemeinem Discours er etwann von seiner Route nach Carolina gesagt hätte, darauf die Leüthe sonderbahrl müssten geachtet haben.
- F. Ob Ihme nicht von H. Landammann zu ober Hassle, auss befehl MrgHrn anbefohlen worden, sich förderlich und alleine auss dem Lande zu begeben, warum er solchem zu wieder sich annoch eine zimliche Zeit in dem Lande auf gehalten und gewartet habe?
- A. Er habe annoch eint- und anderes in Richtigkeit bringen wollen, aber nicht so gleich darmit fertig werden können, nach werts seye schlechtes Wetter eingefallen, dessen wegen Er etwas Länger als Er selbstén gewolt, sich auf halten müssen.
- F. Alss Er nun von oberhassle verreiset was die Ursach gewesen, dass Er sich so lange zu Basel oder da herum aufgehalten?
- A. Er habe alldorten nur, auf seine Schwester und dem Knecht Jacob Lanu, auch auf sein Zeug gewartet.
- F. Ob Er dann seinem Knecht dem Lanu, nicht gesagt wo Er demselben und der Schwester warten wolle?
- A. Nein! Er habe dem Lanu kein Eigentliches Rendezvous bestimmt, weilen Er nicht wissen können, wann Er Reiss fertig seye, und was Ihme etwann auf der Reise begegnen möchte wordurch Er könnte aufgehalten werden.
- F. Das seyen alles schlechte aussreden. Er wolle also nicht gestehen Jemanden etwas von seiner abreise gesagt und ein Rendezvous bestimmt zu haben, warum Er denen Leüthen das Land in Eint und anderem so sehr anzurühmen gesucht habe, dessen Er von Vielen seiner Lands-Leüthen so mit Ihme gewollt und bereits biss auf Thun gekommen, Laut dess von MrgHrn. Schultheiss Frischings zu Thun an MrgHrn abgelassenen Schreibens, sub dato 14t. cur-

<sup>12</sup> Neuenburger Gebiet (Neuchâtel).

rentis, worauss Ihme eint- und andere vorgelesen worden, heftig angeklagt werde?

- A. Ja es könne seyn, dass Er in der Gesellschaft von dem Land Carolina geredet und darvon gesagt habe, wie es dan in der Wahrheit sich also erfinde, dass Ein Tagelöhner daselbst von 5 biss 10 bz. per Tag verdienen könne und dass es dorten in ansehender Weise wohlfeil, in ansehen des getranks aber theür zu leben seyn; anbey gestuhnde Er, auch das Er laut vorangezognen Schreibens, sich wenig mehr under die Leüthe gelassen, sondern selbige ausszuweichen gesucht und sich verborgen habe, auss forcht der Zulauff möchte zu gross werden und könnte Er darüber in unglück kommen. Er habe nur die Wahrhafte Beschaffenheit dieses Lands, erzählungsweise gemacht, um denen Leüthen die Curiositet zu stillen, indessen seye Ihme des Vorgegangenen herzlich Leid, Er bitte Eine Hohe obrigkeit, die sich dadurch beleidiget Befinde, in demuth um Verzeihung, habe nicht geglaubt so Hoch zu fählen.
- F. Welchen Weg Er Ehemals nach Carolina und seithero für seine Rückreise genommen habe?
- A. Er habe solchen im hin und Rück Reisen über Burgund durch Frankreich nach Calais genommen.
- F. Er sage dass in der Hin- und Her Reisse Er über Besançon durch Burgund gereiset seye, warum er dann dermalen über Basel nicht der Ehevorigen Route nach Reisen und seinen Weg machen wollen?
- A. Er habe auch Jetzt den gleichen weg nemmen Wollen, damit aber die Leüthe Ihme nicht nach und mit Ihme kommen möchten als habe er getrachtet seine abreise Ihnen zu verbergen und sich dessentwegen Resolvirt, den Weg über den Brüning durch das under Walden Land<sup>13</sup> auf Basel zu nehmen, von dorten wolte Er wieder welen durch das Burgund, der Ihme schon bekanten Route nach über Besançon nach Calais marchiren.
- F. Ob Ihme dann nicht in wissen gewesen, dass albereits Lands Leüthe vor Ihnen auf Basel gereiset seyen so mit Ihnen in Carolina ziehen wolten?
- A. Nein! doch habe Er wohl gewusst und vernommen dass eint und andere Leuthe auss dem Oberland das Land hinab gereiset, wohin aber selbige eigentlich hingewolt, seye Ihme in so weit nicht bekant gewesen, und habe Er von niemanden nichts gewusst, als von der Barbara Horger welche mit Ihme nach Carolina ziehen wollen.
- F. Er solle doch die Wahrheit sagen, was Ihne dermahlen eigentlich veranlasset seine sonsten gewohnte Route zu ändern und ob solches alles nicht abgeredtermassen geschehen seye, dass Er diesen Leüthen bey Basel warten sollen um nachwärts mit ein andern von dorten nach Carolina Reisen zu können?
- A. Nein! Er habe mit diesen Leüthen nichts zu thun gehabt und gehen selbige Ihme nichts an, Er für seine Persohn habe von Basel aus seinen Weg über Land auf Calais nach Carolina fortsetzen diese Leüthe aber sich auf den Rein hin ab (: dafür dieselben bereits ein Schiff gedinget:) begeben wollen; Er könne selbst nicht sagen wohin Ihre Reise hingerichtet gewesen, habe auch nichts darnach gefragt weilen es Ihne nichts angegangen.
- F. Ob er nicht ein Hölzernes gschirr habe, da mann obenher getränk unden har aber Brieffen darinn thun könne.

<sup>13</sup> The canton of Unterwalden.

- A. Ja! ein solches habe Ihme ein gewisser Hans Rodt in Carolina gemacht und werde mann solches under seinem Plunder wohl finden.
- F. Ob Er nicht dem H. Lands Venner<sup>14</sup> Sterchi bey der Zoll bruck Einen finger-Ring und ein Pütttschafft gegeben um dadurch die Briefen so Er an Ihne übermachen werde zu erkennen und die so Er an Ihne Inquisiten versenden werde, darmit zu verpütschiren?
- A. Nein! Er für seine Persohn habe demselben nichts dergleichen gegeben, wohl aber habe Er Ihme H. Lands Venner Einen Brief auss Carolina, von Einem gewissen Peter Zaugg mitgebracht, Er wisse nicht ob etwann etwas dergleichen, in gesagten brief eingeschlossen gewesen oder nicht.
- F. Er habe nun alle an Ihne gethanen quaestionen zimmlich hartnäckig gelaugnet und darbey versichert, das Er gern alles bekennen wollte was wahr seye, nun wolle mann annoch eine frische ganz wahrhafte frag an Ihne truken und darbey sehen, wie sehr Er die Wahrheit Liebe? ob Er nicht vorgestern Ein Papeyr auss gefangenschaft Einem Weibe von seinen Lands Leüthen zugeworffen darauff geschriebe gestanden, das diejenige so anoch Lust haben möchten mit Ihme zu reisen, trachten sollen, in das Neuenburgische zu gehen und sich dorte Eine weil aufhalten, Er hoffe seine sachen seyen noch nicht so schlimm beschaffen, das Er nicht hoffnung haben solte bald loos zu werden, wenn er dann loos seye, wolle Er hinkommen und im Vorbey gehen Sie mit Ihme nemmen, sie seyend als dann grad in Burgund und könnind Ihren Weg ohngehindert vorsetzen?
- A. über diese quaestion schiene Er ganz erschrocken zu seyn, schauete hin und her, wusste eine weile nicht was Er sagen wollte und schosse Ihme das Wasser in die augen. Endlich sagte Er, Ja! Er könne dieses nicht läugnen, Er habe vermeinet, wann Er Einmahl ledig werden könnte und diese Leüthe aussert Er. Gnd. Bottmässigkeit antreffen wurde Er selbige, ohne daran übeln zu thun, mit sich nehmen könnte, Er gestühre aber auch hierinnen gröblich gefählet zu haben seye Ihme wohl herzlich Leid, Er bette Gott und Er. Hohen Gnd. in dehemuth um Verzeihung und Gnad.
- Worauf Er wieder an sein orth geführt worden act. d. 21. Martij 1742.

*Auff genommene Information.*

Demnach Ihr Gnd. zu gröstem Leidwesen hinder bracht worden, was massen eint- und andere Ihrer underthanen auss dem ober Land und daherum, sich entschlossen haben, durch Eiteles Vorgeben Vorgemelden Peter Hubers von unterseen, auss grosser unbedachtsamkeit, von hier weg auss Ihrem Vatterland und nach Carolina in america mit sak und Pack, Weib und Kindern sich zubegeben; Habend Hoch dieselben, auss angewohnter Lands vätterlicher tragender Vorsog und Liebe für Ihre angehörigen und underthanen, zu hemmung dieses übeln, und hinter den ursprung dieser sache kommen zu können, dero Diener Mm w. Hrn Gross Weibel Fischer Befelchlichen auf getragen, diese zu Burgdorf angehaltenen und allhero Beschikten Leüthe, zu vrnehmen zu Er Red zustossen und das heraus kommende Ihr Gndl. zu hinder bringen; da

<sup>14</sup> Landsvenner, standard-bearer.

denn diesem Hohen befehl zu volg heüte dato nach Vermelde Persohnen verhört und von denen selben volgendes aussgesagt worden;

*10 Hans übiger von Wildersweil, Amts Interlaken, Sagt:*

Es seye Ihme von Einem gewüssen Peter Huber von Oberhassle, welcher vor etwas Zeits von Carolina wieder zuruck in das Lande gekommen, vieles von obiger Landschaft gesagt und angerühmet worden, wie das es alldorten so guth und wohlfeil zu leben seye, und dass einem jeden so dahin komme Ein nahmhafter Bezirk gutes Land zu bauen, für nichts hingegeben werde; dieses Vorgeben nun habe Ihme so sehr eingenommen, dass Er in betrachtung seiner armuth und übeln Zeit, da Er nichts zu gewinne sich und die seinigen durch zu bringen, sich endlich entschlossen die Reise zu wagen seine wenig Habschaft zu gelten zu machen und mit Weib und Kind darvon zu ziehen; Weilen nun sein Weib, von dem Huber, durch das anrühmen dieses Lands auch solcher-gestalte seyn ein genommen worden, dass sie Ihme inquisit, weder Tag noch Nacht keine Ruhe gelassen als habe Er sich desto Ehender zu dieser Resolution anschliessen können; am allermeisten aber seye Ursach daran gewesen sein Elender Knab von 11 Jahren welcher Stum und sonsten gebrechlich seye, um dieses Knaben willen, habe Er zu verschiedenen mahlen, schon under Mm wHrn.<sup>15</sup> Landvogt Dub sel. und under dem diss-maligen Herr Landvogt Gross zu Interlaken, angehalten das Ihme doch etwas zu einicher Subsistenz dieses ellenden Menschen möchte verordnet werden, dar zu man Ihme auch Hoffnung gemachet, aber niemalsen nichts verordnet worden, sich also in armuth und trostloos sehend, habe Er vol-lends nach Carolina zu Reisen sich entschlossen, dennoch aber weilen er sehe, das diese unternemunge, Seiner Gnädigen Landes Obrigkeit miss-fällig seye, so seye Er erbiethig seinen gefassten entschluss zu ver-las-s[en], und dero Gnädigem Willen, als Ein getreüer underthan sich zu unter werffen:

*Hans Meyger von Oberhassle sagt*

Er habe Einen brief gesehen und gelesen, so Ein gewisser Simeon Zinger, welcher schon vor etwas Zeits auss dem Lande gezogen Einem gewissen Hans Zinger dermalen in der Pfalz hauss häblich zu ge-schrieben, dieser brieff seye von dem Letzteren, nach oberhassle an seinen bruder Heinrich Zinger verschickt worden, darinnen seye Eine weit läuftige Beschreibung von der guethe und fruchtbarkeit, der so-genannte Landschaft Carolina enthalten, ohngefahr den Huber angetroffen, habe er Ihm auss anlass obigen Brieffs und eint- und anderer getrukte tractätlein, wissend dass Er Huber vor kurzen auss Carolina gekomme und selbiges Ihme wohl bekant seye um die Eigentliche Beschaffenheit dieses Lands, gefragt, Er Huber habe Ihme solches in keineswegs an-rühmen wolle, sonderen gesagt er solle es selbstn gehen erfahren, auss oberzehlttem anlass nun, und wegen hart truckender armuth indemme Er vieles schuldig, und seine wenige Mittel denen gläubigeren darschlagen müssen, seye Er endlich zu der Resolution geschritten, mit Weib und Kind sein Vatterland zu verlassen und in Carolina zu ziehen; da Ihme dann nach ab bezahlung der schulden 96 K über geblieben darvon Er den abzug dem Hr. Landammann Zopfi bezahlt habe.

<sup>15</sup> Meinen Würdigen Herren.

*Jacob Ritschhard von Oberhofen, seines Handwerks ein  
Huff-Schmied, Sagt:*

Er Ullrich Steinmann sein Tochtermann dessen Weib und 4 Kinder, seynd schon vor 7 Jahren Sinns gewesen Ihr Vatterland zu verlassen und mit Sak und pak in Carolina zu zeüchen, weilendamals gesagtes Land, durch Ein in Truk aussgegangenes Traktatlein männiglich angerühmet worden; seit hero aber seyend verschiedene, auss Carolina, von Ihren Lands-Leüthen geschriebene Briefe in das Land und unter die Leüthe gekommen, welche dieses Land als guth und fruchtbahr anrühmen, und die Ihrigen auch dahin einladen, mit dem Peter Huber habe Er zwar wegen dieses Landes ertragenheit geredet, welcher Ihme aber nicht viel darüber sage noch Ihme zur Hinreiss auf muntern wollen. Weilen Er sich aber in grosser armuth mit dene seinige Befinde, hier alle Lebensmittel costbar und wenig zu verdiene seyn, als habe Er die Resolution genomme sein Vatter Land zu verlassen, und weilen Er zu Leiden in Holland einen Verwandten Nammens Ein Znud gebührtig von Belp, welcher Kinder und dorten wohl eingehauset seyn solle, habe Er Bevorderst bey selbigen zu sprechen wollen, um zu sehen, ob Er Ihme mit denen seinigen als ein an Verwandter auf- und annemmen wollte, seyn also annoch gesinnt diesen Zug zu seinem an Verwandt, fortzu setzen, mit Bitte Ihne darann nicht zu hindern.

*Hans Egger auss Grindelwaldamts.*

Den 24t Marty 1742 ward auf geheiss ms wHr. Gross Weibel Hans Egger auss Grindelwald amts Interlaken, so samt seinem Weib und Einem Knaben von zen Jahren mit übrigen seinen Lands Leüthen sich auf Basel begeben und gesinnet ware mit dem inhaftigten Peter Huber nach Carolina zu Reisen von hiesiger Grichtschreiberey vernommen und von demselben Volgendes ausgesagt worden.

Peter Huber habe Ihme das Land Carolina sehr angerühmet und Ihme gesagt wan Er mit Ihme hinziehen wolle auch sein Weib und Kind mit sich dahin bringen so bekomme Er alsobald 50 Jucharts Land und zwölf 40 bázler<sup>16</sup> in bahrem Gelt, geniesse dorten vile übrige douceur so mann dene dahin vorkommend erweise. Dieses guthe Vorgeben nun habe Ihne bewogen sein Vatterland zu verlassen um so damehr weilen sein Weib als eine aussere nicht gelitten werden er bezahle dan für sie 10 b: ein Zuggelt, er aber alss ein unbemittelter Mann solches nicht zu erstatten im Vermogen gewesen mithin weg zu reisen sich entschloss, nun seye Er bereits seit acht Wochen von Heimath und durch dieses falsche Vorgeben des Hubers in grosse Cösten und ungelegenheit gesetzt worden, dermalen aber wieder gesinnt nach Hauss zu kehren, Eine Hohe obrigkeit in Demuht Erflehende Ihme in etwas nach dero angewohnten barmherzigkeit, under die armen zu greiffen und zu befehlen, dass er als ein armer Mann mit seinem Weib und Kind ohne Einzuggelt in seinem geburthsorth sich aufhalten und wohnen dürfte. actum obstat.

4. VERHÖR PETER INÄBNITS AUS GRINDELWALD, BEY 25 JAHREN  
ALTERS. 1744.<sup>17</sup>

Mit dem aus Carolina gekommenen Peter Imäbnit habend Er Gnd. Dienern Heute dato Volgendes Examen gehalten:

<sup>16</sup> The juchart was about an acre. Bázler perhaps means simply batzen.

<sup>17</sup> Staatsarchiv, Bern, Klein Thurn-Buch, 18t. Nov.-2t. Octob. 1744.

- F. Wie Er heisse? wie alt? woher, wesswegen und seit welcher Zeit Er in Ihr Gnd. Landen seye?
- A. Er heisse Peter Imäbnit: Von 5. à 26<sup>18</sup> Jahren alters aus dem Grindelwald gebürtig, vor 9 Jahren seye Er mit seinem Vatter, Mutter, Geschwisterten, vielen Lands- und anderen Leüthen, auss der Schweiz in Carolina gereisset, weilen sein Vatter aber annoch etwas wenig fruchtbares in seinem Heimath zu Rückgelassen, habe Er sich solches zu berichtigen wieder in sein Vatterland begeben und seye etwa, mitten verstrichenen Septembris, droben in seinem Heimath angelanget.
- F. Ob Er wisse wessenwegen Er in Verhaft seye?
- A. Nein! das wisse Er ganz und gar nicht.
- F. Wo Er sich, seitdemme Er in das Land gekommen, aufgehalten?
- A. Droben in dem Grindelwald.
- F. Es seye bekannt, dass Er in dem Ober Land, an verschiedenen Orten gewesen?
- A. Ja! zu Ober Hasle und Interlaken.
- F. Er werde während der Zeit da Er in dem Land gewesen, seine Sachen wohl berichtet haben, was Er nun weiters zu Thun gesinnet und auf welche Zeit seine Abreise bestimmt seye?
- A. Er seye in Carolina ausser denen zwey Ersten Jahren allezeit Krank gewesen, derowegen Ihme dieses Land erleidet, seye also gesinnet, wieder hier im Landen zu bleiben.
- F. Mann habe, an diesem seinem Vorgeben, grosse Ursach zu zweiffeln, um so da mehr weilen mann sicher wüsse, dass Er ein weit anderes zum Zweck habe, Er soll ansagen, ob Er nicht gekommen seye, mehrere von seinen Lands Leüthen aufzuwicklen und solche zu engagiren, mit Ihne in Carolina zu ziehen?
- A. Behüt Ihne Gott! Er seye nicht gekommen, jemanden mit Ihne wegzuführen.
- F. Wie es denn komme, dass allerorthen, wo Er sich droben in dem Oberland befunden, Er einen so grossen Zulauf von Lands Leüthen gehabt und man seithero Erfahren, dass so Viele Emigriren und in Carolina ziehen wollen.
- A. Er wisse nichts hiervon, dass aber so viele Landes-Leüthe sich bey Ihme einbefunden, wisse Er keinen andern Grund, als etwa von Ihne zu Vernemmen, wie es denen Ihrigen in Carolina Ergehe.
- F. Ob Er dann Niemanden das Land angerühmt und darvon geredt habe?
- A. Wohl! Er habe Verschiedenen, die Ihne auss Neubegierigkeit, von der beschaffenheit dieses Landes gefragt, Erzählet, wie es sich in der That befinde, dass er aber jemanden angerathen dahin zu ziehen, werde mann Ihne mit Nichten überführen können.
- F. Ob Er nicht, in dem Absehen, Einen Brief an den Englischen H. Residenten<sup>19</sup> allhier geschrieben habe?

<sup>18</sup> I. e., von fünf bis sechs und zwanzig.

<sup>19</sup> A copy of this letter found in the Staatsarchiv of Bern is as follows: "Euer Gn. zu berichten, dass es wohl bey 200 Persohnen hier wären, die in das Süd Carolina wollen ziehen, wan der Ehren Veste Herr Ambassador sein milte Hand wollte aufthun, und Ihnen darzu verhelfen, dann die meisten haben kein gelt, oder sehr wenig, und etwelche haben wohl gelt und andere sachen, doch



- A. Hierauf stuzte Er ein wenig! Endlich aber gestuhnde Er, diesen Brief geschrieben zu haben, Vorgebende, Er habe solchen niemals dem Herren Residenten einhändigen, sondern nur diejenigen, welche Ihne dieses zu thun Ersucht, därmit Contentiren wollen, es seye ja, auss der stellung dieses Zeduls Liecht zu Ersehen, dass kein Vernünftiger sich unterstehen würde, an Einen solchen Herren, auf solche Art zu schreiben, um etwas dermit ausswürken zu können.
- F. Ob Er laugnen dörffe, nicht zu Reichenbach gewesen zu seyn, um mit dem H. Residenten zu Reden?
- A. Ja! Er seye zu Reichenbach gewesen, und habe mit demselben Reden wollen, aber keine Audienz Erhalten können.
- F. Ob an denen Predig Tagen in dem Grindelwald, Er sich nicht auf dem Kirchhoff gestellt, und daselbst den Leüthen Vieles von Carolina angerühmt.
- A. Er habe sich auf dem Kirchhoff niemals lange aufgehalten, in das Wirths Haus aber, seyend Vielle Leüthe zu Ihme gekommen; denen Er aber weiters nichts als was sie Ihne gefragt, von dem Carolina Land gesagt habe.
- F. Ob Er denn nicht auch Briefschaften mit sich auss Carolina gebracht in welchen zweiffels ohn, das Land genugsam werde angerühmt worden seyn?
- A. Ja! Etwa bey 8 brieffen, darvon Einer in das Grindelwald und 7 nach Ober hasle gehört haben.

Hierauf ward Ihme der Bericht von H: Predicant Frölich vor- und abgelesen, darauf Er gestünde, zwar mit denen meisten in selbigem Vernamseten Leüthen, geredt, laugnete aber beständig, Jemanden beredet zu haben, sich in viel gesagtes Carolina zu begeben, um so da mehr weilen Er wohl wisse, dass solches Verboten seye, und der Peter Huber, so desswegen auch in Verhaftt gesezt worden, Ihne hiervor Treülich gewahrnet habe, dass aber Viele Leüthe Resolvirt seyn sollen, dahin zu ziehen, und was dessen die Ursach, seye Ihnen ganz unbekannt, Einmalen werde Ihne Niemand überführen können, dass Er jemanden darzu geloket oder angerahten habe; Er bette Er. Gnd. in Dehmuth um baldige Looslassung.

Volget dess Herrn Predicanten Frölichs auss dem Grindelwald Schriftlicher Bericht obigen Imäbnit betreffend.

Peter in abnit ein Lediger Gsell von ohngefährd 28. Jahren, ist vor 9 Jahren mit seinen Elteren und Geschwüsterten, wovon aber der Vatter unterwegs auf dem Meer Verstorben, nach Carolina verreisset, im Septembr. 1743 ist er von da wieder in Grindelwald ankommen, unter dem Vorwand einer einzuforderenden geringen Schuld an seinem Oncle dem Jacob In äbnit, [d]er aber nicht allzeit im Grindelwald sich aufgehalten, sonder in seinen mir unbekandten geschäftten bald im Hassli-Land, bald im Amt Interlaken und anderen Orthen mehr, sonderlich aber auch vor ohngefähr 2 Monaten zu Reichenbach bey dem Englischen Herren Residenten gewesen und mit Ihme Reden lassen, übrigens ist Er bey jedem wissen sie nicht, wie sie es können fortbringen, wan sie nicht auf die Reiss bis in Holland können fahren, denn es sind ziemlich viel kleine kinder darunter, sie möchten auch wissen wie viel oder wie lang sie müssen daran abverdienen, wann sie hineinkommen." (Aufgefangener Brief an den Engl. Res. in Reichenbach.)



anlass, sonderlich an Sontagen, von Einer grossen Menge Volks umringet gewesen, mit allerhand an Ihne gethanen Fragen, wobey Er aber so wohl laut dem Bericht von anderen, als was auss seinem eigenen Mund gehört, da Er etliche mahl von mir expressè zu Erkundigung dass eint und anderen an meine Tassel gezogen worden, sich in seinen Reden ganz moderati und nicht als ein Werber aufgeführt, doch durch allerhand an Ihne gethanen fragen, und darauf Erhaltenen Antworten von der Güte des Landes ist geschehen, dass unterschiedliche Hauss-Haltungen, wegen Ihrem armseligen Zustand animiert worden Unser Liebes Vatterland zu Verlassen und in Hoffnung eines guten Wechsels sich nach Carolinam zu begeben, von den Vielen, so sich hierzu Resolviert, und Ihre Güter und Mobilien würllich verkaufft, sind Volgende, so Mir gägenwärtig in Sinn kommen:

1. Der alt Hans Bläuer, dessen Familie, Weib, Kinder und Kinds-Kinder sich auf 26. bis 30 Persohnen belauften wird, worunder sich sonderlich befinde der Thallschmid, samt seinem Weib und 6. kleinen un-erzogenen Kinderen, der auch völlig mittellos und durch Hülff dess Vatters dahin muss transportiert werden, der auch ganz billig sein gütlin, bestehend ohngefähr in 2000 [?] wegen der Caroliner Reiss zu Sacrificieren. ....

Demnach Ihr Gnd. sich an der Von dem Herrn Amts Mann zu Inter-laken aufgenommenen Information, wie auch an dem mit diesem Peter Im Aebnit Im Januario letzhin allhier gehaltenen Examen nicht Vernügen, sondern dero Dienern Mm. Hrn. Grossweibel und dem Grichtschreibern Sub 4t. hujus Gnädigst befehlen wollen, Ein nochmaliges Ernsthaftes Examen mit Ihme zu Verführen, sonderheitlich wer die Leüthe seyen, welche Ihne Veranlasset Bewusste Briefen auss Carolina mit zu bringen? was sothane Briefen in sich gehalten und was sonst seine ausssag für andere quaestionen an die Hand geben möchtend, solchennach wann Er abermalen nicht bekennen wollte, Ihne mit der Marter zu betrohen und Ihme selbige wie auch den Scharff-Richter zu zeigen, dennoch aber die Marter nicht würllich anzuwenden; Diesem Hohen Befel ich zu Folge Habend Ihr Gnd. Dienere sich heüte dato in die Obere Gefangenschaft begeben, sich diesen Im Aebnit Vorstellen lassen und mit demselben, nach weitläufig- und wohlgestellter Ernstgemeinten Exhortation Volgendes Examen gehalten:

- F. Von Wemme und an wemme Er die Verschiedenen Briefen auss Carolina gebracht?
- A. 1. Von einem Nägeli an Jacob Mätzener zu Ober-Hassli.
- 2. Von sein dess Bruders Inquisiten Bruders Weib, an Hans Nägeli.
- 3. Von Christen Brauen an seinen Vatter in dem Grindelwald.
- 4. Von Peter Hubers Schwester, an dero Vatter.
- 5. Von Hans Im atter an den H. Landammann Zopfi.
- 6. Von Heinrich Horgers Tochter an Einen Egger.
- 7. Von Hans ohrlj an den Lands Statthalter zu Unter Seen.
- F. Ob Er nicht gewusst was Inhalts diese Briefen gewesen?
- A. Nein! aussert dass der Brauen seinem Vatter gemeldet, dass Er glücklich angelanget, weilen Er aber die Reise Cösten nicht bezahlen können, alss müsse Er 4. Jahr lang um selbige dienen.
- F. Ob Er nicht hier im Land Vernommen, was in denen Briefen enthalten?

- A. Nein!
- F. Ob Er nicht dergleichen Briefen mit sich zu bringen drinnen sich Bey denen Lands-Leüthen beworben?
- A. Nein! im gegentheile, alss seine Lands Leüthe und andere Vernommen dass Er in Eüropa kehren wolle, habe Ihme jedermann Briefe mit geben wollen, Er habe aber keine mehrere, alss von seinen besten Bekannten abnehmen wollen, weilen Mann nichts alss Beschwerde darvon habe.
- A. Wer Ihme angegeben an den Englischen Hrn. Residenten zu Schreiben?
- A. Er könnte das nicht Eigentlich sagen, seye aber, wie Er Ehemalen gesagt, von Vielen darzu angetrieben worden.
- F. Wessenwegen Er selbst mit dem Hr. Residenten wollen?
- A. Er seye zwarn von Vielen darum Erbätten worden, habe aber Eigentlich für sich selbst um Dienst anhalten wollen, weilen Er Vernommen, dass derselbe Einen Diener Verlangte, welcher auch die Englische Spraache Verstühnde; Er habe aber nicht zu demselben kommen können.
- F. Was Er droben denen Leüthen, Von Carolina Erzehlt, dass auf Einmal so Viele dahin zeüchen wollen?
- A. Er habe von nichts sonderlich geredt, alss was Mann Ihne gefragt, im Uebrigen habe Er das Land weder gerühmt noch gescholten, sondern Natürlich gesagt, wie es sich Verhalte, und dass wer nichts mit bringe, drinnen wie hier übel seye, und obwohlen, Er als Ein Zimmermann bey 15 bz. Taglohn Verdienet, wolte Er doch nicht wieder Hin Ein, weilen Er sich nicht wohl durchbringen können.
- F. Ob der Verndrigen Jahrs hier im Land gewesene Peter Huber, nicht Leüthe mit Ihme nach Carolina geführt.
- A. Es seyend 9. oder 10. Persohnen mit demselben angelanget, Er könne aber nichts darvon gehabt haben, zumalen etwelche, nach Ihre Reise-Costen bey denen welche sie Von dem Schiff gelöst abverdienen müssen.
- F. Er solle doch die Pure Wahrheit Reden und sagen ob Er nicht expresse her geschiket worden, Leüthe Hinein zu bringen?
- A. Nein! sondern Er habe Lediglich sein Vatter Land wieder sehen, und hier, oder in Teütschland Verbleiben wollen.

Da Er nun ohngeacht alles Ernstlichen Zusprechens, antrohung der Marter, und da der Scharff-Richter Ihme Vorgestellt worden, Ein mehreres nicht bekennen noch Eingestehen wollen, ward derselbe hinauf und zu der Folter-Bank geführt, Ihme nochmalen aüssersten Ernsts zugesprochen und die Marter anzuwenden angetrohet, dessen ohngeacht Verbliebe derselbe durchauss bei seiner HieVorigen ausssaag, und dass Er gar nicht gekommen, jemand nach Carolina zu Verleiten, noch dass Er gewusst was in denen Mitgebrachten Briefen enthalten gewesen, Er seye selbst nicht gesinnet wieder Hinein zu gehen, und werde Niemand zeügen können, dass Er jemanden dahin verlokete, in dem gegentheile habe Er mehr abgewerth alss angerathen; Im Uebrigen seye Er in seiner Hohen oberkeit Banden, mann könne mit Ihme machen was Mann wolle; Er bätte aber um Gnädige Loosslassung. Actum d. 10t. February 1744.

Wird an den Pranger gestellt und ewig banisiert.

Zu Folg Ihr Gnaden Befelchs vom 17. hujus habend dero Dienern dem von Basel wieder abgeholten Peter im Aebnit, heute dato über die an und von Ihme, seit seiner banisation, angelangte brieffen, in der oberen Gefangenschaft Ernstlich Examiniert, da dann Er im Aebnit, nach langem Torgiversiren, Endlich bekennt, Er habe zu Basel, Einen gewissen andres Märkj angetroffen, welcher Ihme gebetten an Hans Nägeli, Christen Brunner, und Hans Müller, in das Land zu schreiben und Ihnen anleitung zu geben, wie selbige Ihre sachen anschiken sollen, nach Carolina zu Reiss, wozu er sich, bey dem Trunk Verleit lassen, glaubend Er fähle nichts, weilten Er ohne das schon Banisirt seye. Er habe von Basel auss, allwo Er mehreres gelt auss dem Grindelwald erwarten wollen, auch an MwHr. LandVogt zu Interlaken, und an den Herrn Grossweibel, wegs dess gelts geschrieben; Ferners habe Er an Christen Feller seinen Vettern, zu allmendingen bey Thun, geschrieben, denselben Einzuladen, mit Ihme Inquisiten zu Ihrem, beydseitigen an Verwandt nach Engelland zu Reisen.

Ueber den Brief von Philip Friedenrich Wild auss Rotterdam,<sup>20</sup> sagte Er: der Huff-Schmied Jacob Ritschard zu Unterseen, welcher schon vor zen Jahren nach Carolina Reisen wollen, habe Ihme angehalten, nach Rotterdam zu Schreiben, um alles zu vernemmen wie Es mit der hinüber-Reise beschaffen, und wie viel Es coste, dessenwegen Er Inquisit dann besagten Wild (: welcher ein Wirth seye, Eines Americanischen Schiff-Patronen:) geschrieben, um solches dem Ritschard zum Verhalt zu bringen, sonsten habe Er für sich selbstn nichts gethan und seye nicht gesinnet wieder nach America zu Reisen, Es werde auch Niemand zeügen können, dass Er Jemand geloket noch zu dieser Reise veranlasset; bette in dessen um baldige looslassung. act. d. 27t. Marty 1744.

Demnach Vorgesteren abends, nach 9 Uhren, Ein Mensch in seinem blut vast Tod ligend, bey dem Kefj-Thurn<sup>21</sup> allhirr gefunden worden, ward dessen MwHr. Gross Weibel, alsobald berichtet; Alss mann nun denselben visitirt und besorget, dass Es der bekannte Peter im-Aebnit welcher als Ein Verdächtiger Wärber, nach Carolina, ohnlängste zu Basel angehalten, von da Reclamirt und zum anderen mahl in die obere gefangenschaft gesezet worden, und dass Er sich an Einem oben in dem Kefj-Thurn an gemachten Seil hin-unter lassen wollen; da Er aber sich nicht vast halten können, auf den boden Stürzen müssen; derselbe aber wurde alsobald auf gehoben, nach dem Wirthshauss zum Bären getragen und hat allda Sprach und Sinnenlos gelegen, biss dess Morgens um 7 Uhren, da Er Todes verblichen, worüber Er. Gnaden Gleichen Morgens, der bericht abgestattet worden; habend Er. Gnaden dero Dieneren befehllich aufgetragen, den Todten Körper wegen der am Tag liegenden auch zum Theil gestandenen Verbrechen, unter das Hoch-Gericht verscharren zulassen, anbey über diese Zutragenheit, Eine umständliche Information auf zu nemmen: worauf hin folgende Persohnen vernommen worden.

1. Johannes Reist von Sumiswald: Bei 27. Jahren alters, welcher wegen seines auss-Reissens aus dem Schellenwerk und zu boden geschlagenen Profoss in der gefangenschaft enthalten: Sagt:

Der Peter im Aebnit, seye verwichenen Mitwochen nach 3 Uhren

<sup>20</sup> See Faust, *Guide*, etc., p. 47.

<sup>21</sup> Käfig-Turm, cage-tower, i. e., prison-tower.

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nach Mittags, oft in der Kuchj an dem Fenster gestanden, und habe dorten mit verschiedenen Landsleüthen, beyderley Geschlächts gesprochen, was oder wor von wisse Er nicht, indemme Er nicht darauff geachtet; Er habe nicht anders gesehen Ihme zu bringen als wein und brodt, die Leüthe aber, so Ihme solches zugebracht, kenne Er nicht, Endete seine Ausssaag.

2. Hans Beath von Münsingen, der Saagen-Feiler bey 40. Jahren alters, welcher, weilen Er sich wieder des öftern Verbott, aussert seinem Heimath, sehen lassen, von der Marechaussée in die obere Gefangenschaft gebracht worden; Sagt:

Er habe gewahret, dass während dieser wochen, der Imäbnit zu verschiedenen Zeiten dess Tags, mit seinen Lands-Leüthen (: deren Er Inquisit viele in der Statt zu seyn gewahret:) in der Kuchj, durch das Gegitter geredt habe, Er Inquisit habe sich aber Ihres Redens nichts geachtet, Er habe auch an Ihme Imäbnit, nichts unanständiges gewahret, sondern denselben oft in der Bibel oder andern geistlichen Büchern lesen gesehen; an dem Mitwochen aber habe Er Eine grosse gemühts unruhe an Ihme gewahret und gesehen, dass selbiger gegen 3 Uhren alle seine briefschafften zu Sich genommen habe; weilen Er aber selbigem nichts böses zu gedacht, so habe Er sich, seiner weiters nichts geachtet, besinne sich aber annoch wohl, dass bey später abends-zeit zwey oberländische Weibs-bilder, welche Er Inquisit nicht kenne, gekommen, und lang mit Ihme Imäbnit, in der Kuchj durch das Fenster geredt; wann oder durch wenne aber demselben das Seil und der Borrer seye zu gebracht worde, wisse Er nicht; Er Inquisit habe aber also bald gewahret, nach demme der Kefj-Knecht weg-gewesen, dass der Imäbnit nicht da seye, habe indessen geglaubt, der Kefj-Knecht habe denselben etwann auss befehl in ein ander quartir gethan, weiters wisse Er nichts.

3. Jacob Mürj der Kefy-Knecht von Belle-Rive gebührtig, sagt:

Er habe Lütz verwichenen Mitwochen denen gefangenen das Nacht-Essen gebracht, nach demme nun selbige gespiesen, habe Er das geschirr wieder in den Korb genommen und seye heim gegangen; während demm als Er das Geschirr eingepaket, seye der Imäbnit auss der Schulden-Stuben in die Kuchj gegangs, welches Er Inquisit wohl gewusst und gesehen, glaubend Er werde seine Nohtdurfft verricht, habe Er sich weiters nichts geachtet und müsse selbiger, indemme Er Inquisit damalen, und vorher öftters die gang-Thüren offen gelassen, dieser seiner Liechtsinnigkeit zu profitiren gesucht und sich hinauf in den Thurn geschleiket haben; Er Inquisit habe aber von dem Vorgegangenen nichts gewusst, biss mann Ihme nach 9. Uhren angesagt, der Peter Imäbnit lige in seinem blut unter dem Kefj-Thurn, worüber Er nach seiner schuldigkeit alsobald MwHr. Gross Weibel dessen berichtet; indessen seye Ihme Inquisiten diese unVorsichtigkeit Leid, Er bitte Er. Gnad in Dehe-muht um gnädige Vergebung, werde sich solches zur warnung dienen lassen. wie und auf was weise der Imäbnit, das Seil und den Borrer bekommen, wisse Er nicht. Endete seine Ausssaag.

act. d. 3. Aprilis 1744.

B. LETTERS OF EMIGRANTS (FAVORABLE), FOUND IN THE STATE ARCHIVES OF BASEL. UNPUBLISHED.

I. FROM ANTONY GONDY. 1733.<sup>22</sup>

SCHARLETON<sup>23</sup> den 28 May 1733

SUD CAROLINA.

*Lieber Bruder* ich habe nicht unterlassen wollen Dir unseren Zustand und Leben in Carolina zu berichten Weillen d H. Pfarherr Pignaud<sup>24</sup> Naher Purisburg abgereist, alwo er also Pfarherr aufgenommen worden, und er mir heylig versprochen mein Brief in Engelland mit seinem Schreiben zu übersenden, und bestens zu Recommendieren, dass es Richtig in die Schweiz übersant werde, also habe durch gegenwertige Zeillen melden Wollen, dass wir in die Einhundert und Siebenzig personen nach deme wir 11 Wuchen auf dem Meere gefahren durch Gottes Beystand glücklich und gesund allhier angelangd. Es haben uns in virginien die Leut vielle und grosse gutthaten gethan, und uns mit solcher Hoflichkeit Empfangen, dass unbeschreiblich. von dannen seind wir auf Purisburg kommen, allwo man uns auf gleiche weis Tractieret, und 6 gantze Wuchen gastfrey gehalten allwo die Bas Marianne Ein Man von 50/m<sup>25</sup> Thaler Reich geheirathet, der ein Wittwer war und hatte ein Einzig Kindt von seiner ersten frauen, Er hat Ihren von allem so er hat und besitzt, sein Hab gut verschrieben, er ist ein Pfälzter, von Speir gebürtig, namens Thomas Baumgartner, wir seynd an der Hochzeit gewesen und haben uns gar lustig gemacht, der Neue Vetter hat mir 8 Pferdt auf die Reis verehrt. von dannen seind wir auf Scharleton kommen, allwo mir wieder gast frey gehalten worden, als wie in Purisburg, von dannen hat uns der Commisarius auf Savanne geführet, ist ein fischreicher grosser Fluss 8 Stund Schweitzer Stund, vom Meer entfernt, allwo wir unser Hütten aufgebauet, alda hat man einem jeden Kopf weiblich und männlich, 50 Jucharten gutes Landt ausgetheilet, der Boden ist überaus gut fett und fruchtbar, nun arbeitet niemanden im Land länger als 2/m<sup>26</sup> die übrige Zeit kan man fischen oder jagen, es wohnen indianer bey uns die Besten Leut, ausser dass wir nicht mit einander reden können, sondern müssen mit winken und deuten einander berichten, sie gehen halb nackend, und haben nur ein Haut vom gewilde um die Schamb, sonsten thun sie nichts als fischen und jagen, kennen keine andre Arbeit mögen auch keine andre Arbeit thun. wir haben unser ledig frauen Volk so in 13 personen bestanden alle wol versorgt sind alle wol verheirathet, im Vatterlande hätten sie dergleichen glück nicht gemacht. unsere Kinder seynd dieses Landt so gewohnet als wann sie darinnen gebohren wehren, weillen es gar eine gesunde Luft doch macht es heiss dass gantze Jahr durch, wie bey Lausanne im augst monat, man weiss von keinem Winter wann wir Winter haben gibt es 1/m Kälte Thau

<sup>22</sup> Staatsarchiv, Basel, Auswanderung A. Gondy seems to have come from the Pays de Vaud, then subject to Bern.

<sup>23</sup> Charleston, S. C.

<sup>24</sup> He probably means Rev. Joseph Bugnon. For the history of the settlement, see Judge H. A. M. Smith's article in the *South Carolina Magazine of History*, X. 187-219. None of the names mentioned in this letter appears in his lists, except that of Mr. Bugnon.

<sup>25</sup> I. e., 50,000.

<sup>26</sup> Two months, probably.

und regen, doch nur beÿ nacht, so bald der Tag kommt so ist es wieder warm, auch hat es uber die massen schöne grosse Bäum in den Wäldern, Eich Bäum in 10 schuh dick nach dem Diameter, und darüber, und Tragen gar viel Eichlen, so dass die Zahmen und Wilden schweine Sommer und Winter Kein Mangel an der Nahrung haben. Mann lasst das Vieh Sommer und Winter herum laufen, wie das Wildbredt, es ist ein recht Irdisches Paradies, dieses Land, man hat alles wass man will im überfluss. seÿt deme dass die Schweitzer darcin kommen machen sie Käs und Butter, so man vorhin nicht gehabt. auch haben sie an unterschiedlichen orten Räben gepflantzet, die guten Wein geben, allein sie haben die Trotten und fass nicht wie in Europa derohalben wann unsere Nachbaren von Morges, St Nyon, St pre, Etoy, anbronne, Roll,<sup>27</sup> zu uns wollen kommen sollen sie Küfer mit bringen auch von allen Handwerck Leuten wo sie immer bekommen können welche in diesem Canaan glückliche und Reiche Leut werden. wir haben ungeheure Wälder von 8 a 10 Tag lang und Breit, dass gewilt wimmlet darinnen, wie ummaisen.<sup>28</sup> Ich und der Vetter Albert seynd einmahlen mit den Indianern auf des Jagen gangen um zu sehen wie sie mit ihren Bögen und Pfeillern dass gewild schiessen. Es ist eine Curiose sach, allein wir haben dem Heimweg schier verfehlet, dass wir mit den wilden thieren hätten müssen im Wald bleiben, wann nicht einer von den indianeren den Weg gefunden wo wir herein kommen. es hat in den Wälderen Erstaunlich grosse Cypressend Bäum, Nuss, Castannien, Citronnen, Limonen, Bümmerantzen, granaden, Datlen, Jujuben, und 1000 erleÿ aller gattung Bäum, und Früchten, gräuter, wurtzeln, wann einer von unseren D<sup>r</sup> Medicine in dass Land kommen, könnte er wann er ein Kräuther verständiger allerhand Köstliche Sachen Entdecken, weilen es Kräuther gibt von gar Köstlichem geruch. wir haben was wir wollen ausser dem Wein der aus Engelland und Spannen herüber geführt wird, so die Mass 4 Schweitzer Batzen kost. Sonsten ist es uns als wie in einem Irdischen Paradies. Es gibt 1000 erleÿ Vögel von aller gattung farben, Roth, weiss, grosse Babengeÿer, und kleine, auch Eine gatung solle dergleichen noch keine in Europa gebracht worden seÿn, die grün und wie ein Puros Gold under dem grünen vermenget, deren Namen niemand weisst. die Indianer nennen sie pitivaor. sie singen so lieblich wie ein musicalisch instrument, sonderlich wie kleine flöte Dousse. meine feder kan ohnmüglich des Landes Lieblichkeit und anmuth beschreiben, und wer nicht selbst in dass Land kommet der kan es ohnmüglich glauben, Ich hätte es auch nicht glauben können wann ich es nicht selbst gesehn, dann es ist mir ergangen wie dem unglaubigen Thomas. wass ich von diesem Land in der Schweiz erzehlen hören, hab ich eben als eine fabel gehalten, nun aber ist alles weit Lieblicher, Besser und Schöner als man es beschreiben. die Euoper haben Beÿ 3 in 400 Hüner, gäns, Enten, Schwein beÿ 6 a 700, Küh 200, Pferd Beÿ 400. in Summa Es ist unglaublich, wessentwegen Bitte alle unsern guten freund und verwanten die nicht beÿ grossen mittlen stechen, die wollen doch zu uns kommen. Sie werden mir dafür danken, auch ist die Schifffahrth gar nicht so gefährlich als man uns glauben gemacht, doch ist gut wann viel Leuth mit einander kommen, man hat Minderen Kosten, auch ist gut wann man von aller Gattung Handwerks Leuten mit Bringet denen es am allerbesten gehet.

<sup>27</sup> Places in the Pays de Vaud.

<sup>28</sup> Ameisen, ants.



Sie gewinnen wass sie wollen, in Sonderheit die Schmid, Wagner, Zimmerleut, Maurer, Hafner, Seiler, Schreiner, Leinen Wäber, die auch wollen Zeug wäben können, Weilen man gar viel Baumwolle gantze Wälder voll, auch sollen alle armen Weibs Personen so bey geringen Mitlen stechen wann sie Tugendsam und verständig Mit in America kommen. es wird alles wol gehen in dem alle ihr fortun machen können, dann man sieht auf dass gelt, wie in der Schweiz. Lieber Bruder ich bin versichert dass die gegenwertigen Zeillen als eine veritablé Fabel vorkommen werden, allein Ich thäte mich schämen wan ich ein einiges Wort ohne grund der Warheit hierinnen melden thäte. Ich erwarte dich und dein gantze familie. Ich grüss dich dein Frau Liebste Kinder und Freunde, zu 1000 mahlen Befehlen euch insgesamdt, des allerhöchsten schutz.

ANTONY GONDY.

2. FROM DURS THOMMEN. 1737.<sup>29</sup>

Mein fründlichen Dienst und Gruss und alles Guts an Sie, Hochgeachte, Wol Edle, Gestrenge, Fromme, Veste, Ehrenveste, Wol fürneme fürsichtige, Ehrsame, Und wol Weÿse Herren, Herren Burgermeistern Und Raths Lobl. Stat Und Land Basel. Wie auch Wol Weÿse Herren, Herren Oberste Zunftmeister, Ein gantz Ehrsamer Wol Weÿser Raht! Ich Ends underschribener kan Nicht undlassen sie Erst Gedachte G. H. zu berichten. Weilen Ich samt Meiner gantzen Familien Noch früsch und gesund sind. Und uns von Ihnen solches zu vernemen käme es Uns hertzlich freuen wurde. Ich hab ein Platz angenommen von 350 Jucherten samt 2 Heuserern und scheuren und Habe Mit s. v. 6 Pfert, 2 Fühli, 15 Stuck Rindvieh und hab etwan 35 seckh Haberen, auch 46 seckh Weitzen, 25 seckh Roggen, 23 seckh Welsch Korn. Von diesem Meinem Land darf Ich für ein Jahr Nichts Mehrers geben als 7s.<sup>30</sup> das Ist so viel als 7 mahl 5. schweitzerbatzen, für Zehenden, Bodenzins und alle Gefel. gute freÿheiten hat es in diesem Land, Mit aller Hand sachen. Es sind vielerleÿ Secten darinnen als Reformierte, Lautersche, Amische, 7 Tügen, Sonntags Teuffer, Manisten, Pedisten, Kartolsche,<sup>31</sup> aber die dörfen kein Lehrer haben. Und sind alle Nationen fründtlich und dienstbahr gegen Einander. auch viel Wildeleuth oder Indianer die sind gar gut gegen denen Zahmen. Was sie vermeÿnen dass Einer veriret seÿ so helfen sie Ihme wider auf den Weg. ist es dann auf die Nacht so nemmen sie die leuth in Ihre Hütten, geben Ihnen Fleisch zu essen bis genug, und Morgens weÿssen sie die zu Recht und geht Einer mit ihm. ist auch gut pflügen. Mit 2 Pferten kan einer Eines Tags 1 grossen Ackhr fahren. Arme Leuth hat es keine in dem Land, dann wer arbeiten wil der kan sich Reichlich Ernehren. Ein Taglöhner hat Sommerszeit ein Tag so viel als 15 s. [d. ?] Winters Zeit ½ gulden<sup>32</sup> und die Speis. Die Schuhmacher und die Schneider auch also. die Maurer und Zimmerleuth können auf einen Gulden oder aufs wenigst auf 12 Batzen kommen und die Schmid

<sup>29</sup> Staatsarchiv, Basel, Auswanderung A.

<sup>30</sup> The symbol used is not quite certainly the abbreviation for shilling, but the context seems to require it to mean something about 16 or 17 cents; probably the Pennsylvania shilling is intended.

<sup>31</sup> Reformed, Lutherans, Amish, Seventh-Day Baptists, "Sunday Baptists", Mennonites, Pedobaptists (?), Catholics.

<sup>32</sup> The gulden was 15 batzen, and was the equivalent of about 45 cents.



haben gar gute Losung. das Eissen ist wohlfeil und die Arbeit sehr theur und Holtz genug zum Kohl, dass es sie Nichts kostet weder das Holtz zu hauen. Es sind auch 3 Eyssen schmelzenen in Pensylvania und machen wider noch eine Neuwe samt Einer Hammer schmitten so viel als 3 Stund von mir. Die deutschen Bücher sind raar in diesem Land, als Biblen und Psalterspil. So wolt Ich doch vor Gedachte G. Herren ganz Instendig gebätten haben, Wann es etwan Leuth aus Ihro gnaden Landschaft kommen wollten, sie mir etwan 2 Biblen und 2 oder 3 Psalterspiel schickhen wolten und darin schreiben thätten was sie kosten, so wolt Ichs, dem woh in Land käme wider ersetzen und bezahlen. Ich hab mein Platz von einem anderen man genommen und Ihme aberkauft nicht von dem Landherren, umb 360 lb. das ist so viel als Basel Währung ... 2700 lb.<sup>33</sup> aber er hats mir frey und frankh an die Hand geben müssen, beÿ dem Landherren bezahlen und mir ein sichere deut und Kaufbrief an die Hand geben, samt der freÿheit, Wie er es von dem Land herren gehabt hat. Wan aber einer vom Landherren Land aufnimt so mus er 100 ackher bezahlen umb 15 lb. das ist so viel als 112 lb. 10 s. dieses Land ist gut und fruchtbar, es wachst darinnen was man pflanzen wil in aller hand frühten was man pflanzen wil. Was die Früchte gelten in diesem Land, so gilt eine Buschel Weitzen 4 s. 6 d. der Roggen 3 s. 8 d. die Gerste 3 s. und 7, buschlen so viel als 2 Basel Seckh und 2 d. so viel als ein Keisser groschen,<sup>34</sup> Ein s. soviel als 5 schweitzer batzen. Ich samt meiner gantzen Familie grüssen obgemelde unsere gnädige hochehrende Herren und oberen noch mahlen zu tausend mahlen und wünschen Ihnen die Liebe Edle Gesundheit, Friden und Wolstand, dass sie noch viel folgende Jahr Recht und Gerechtigkeit mögen hand haben, Alle Zeit das Rechte färderen und das Unrecht abwenden wie es bis dato geschehen ist, Und endlichen nach Verfliessung dieser Zeit mögen aufgenommen werden in die Seelige Ewigkeit. Weillen ich aber nit denken kan dass Ich sie mit meinen Leiblichen Augen mehr sehen werden so wil Ich doch hoffen dass sie Alle samtlich droben im Himmel das Licht des Lebens anschauen und sehen werden welches ist unser Herr und Heiland Jesus Christus. Ja da wird Gott in Christo, In Euch das A und das O, der Anfang und das Ende, Ja das eine und alles seÿn und Ihr werdet Euch dessen gar hoch erfreuen Ewiglich und ohne Ende. Halleuia: Amen. So geschehe es, das wünsche Ich von grund meines Hertzens.

Quitobihila<sup>35</sup> in Pennsylvania.

DURS THOMMEN gewesen von Niderdorf aus dem Candons Basel an jetzt wohnhaft in Quitobihila in Pensylvania, 80 Meil von Philadelphia. Wan mich jemand berichten oder schreiben wollte so berichte man auf Philadelphia in des Caspar Wisters oder Johannas Wister da werde Ichs ordentlich bekommen.

den 3 ten Octobris 1737.

Adresse.

Ahn denen Hoch geachten wol Edlen, Gestrengen, Fromen, Vesten, Ehrenvesten, Wol fürneme, fürsichtigen, Und wol Weÿsen Her-

<sup>33</sup> The Swiss pfund was at this time equal to about 40 cents of our money. The Carolina pound the writer seems to reckon at three dollars.

<sup>34</sup> The imperial groschen was the equivalent of about two cents and not far from the value of two Carolina pennies.

<sup>35</sup> Quitopahilla was the Lenni Lenape name for a branch of the Great Swatara, in what is now Lebanon County.

ren, Herren N. Burgermeister Falckner und Rathsh. Lobl. Statt und Land Basel, Meinen Insonders gross günstigen Herren und oberen  
Basel.

3. FROM JACOB SEYLER. 1750.<sup>36</sup>

*Lieber Vetter meier Hansz Jacob Birsinger.*

Ich kan nicht underlasen euch ein wenig zu berichten wie es uns geht, wir sind gott lob noch alle frisch und gesund und sind glücklich in das land komen, dem Hansz Ulrich Spor sind zwei Kinder gestorben, das kleinste knäblein in Holand und das kleinste Tochterlein in der statt Viladelfio<sup>37</sup> und sind 9 Wochen von land zu land gefahren. wir wohnen 20 stund von Viladälvia und wohnen 3 stund weit von einander. Der Stofel Seiler ist bei der statt geblieben. Was die landschaft anbelangen thut so hat es sehr viel gut land, es hat auch viel schlächt land und viel stein, das land ist hiblecht wie das Bruderholtz oder wie das Sungau, es hat sehr gut und viel brinen waser bäch im land und sind auch zimlich viel berg im land mit stein und Felsen. Der Hansz Ulrich Spor hat ein gut gekauft aber ich habe eine behausung empfangen und musz iärlich darvon geben zwelf pfunt, ich habe matten das ich zwei hauptvieh kan halten und habe auch zwo jucharten acker mit wäitzen eingesäut, ich habe auch achtzig iucharten land aufgenommen und kosten mich hundert pfundt baselwährung, aber ich wil erst das nächst frihjahr daran arbeiten, ich habe drei und dreisig pfunt gleich misen daran bezahlen. man gibt in Bänselvania kein Bodenzins und auch kein Zenten und kan ein ieder mit seinem gut schalten und walten wie es ihm gefalt. man darf auch kein fron und kein wacht thun, man hat eine grose freiheit im land gegen der dienstbarkeit egipten im Baselbiet. Von den fruchten man hat keine andern frichten als das merste theil wäitzen auch korn und rocken, man hat auch gersten und buchwäitzen und Tirckenkorn, der Sack waitzen gildt 6 lb.<sup>38</sup> und 8 batzen und der rocken 5 lb. die mas wein 18 batzen, die mas bier drei groschen, die mas Thran oder Brandenwein 8 batzen. Der Raum<sup>39</sup> ist eine andere Gattung brandenwein und komt ausz einem andern land, ist etwas theuer, man macht auch viel pferding brandenwein, dan es gibt viel epfell aber wenig bihren. ich habe auch mit dem Leohnhart Herman von Beucken geredt, er hat gesagt sie haben zimlich gut land aber sie kenne es nicht für eigenthümlich haben dan sie wohnen an der Saurbrantz<sup>40</sup> gegen Vierginien.

Man kan auch bald kein land mer bekommen, es ist schier alles aufgenommen. wan einer nicht einen guten Freind hat so findet er auch keins dan die Nachbauren hasen es wan man einem land zeit. Ich lase auch meine geschwisterte und schweger und bekante und verwante samptlich freindlich grisen und winsche ihnen samptlich gute gesundheit. es geht uns wohl. wir haben noch niemahl keinen mangel gehabt, dan wir haben alle zeit zu verdienen, dan man hat einen zimlich grosen lohn. ein taglöhner hat des tags zehen batzen und die kost darzu, in dem Winter

<sup>36</sup> Staatsarchiv, Basel, Auswanderung A.

<sup>37</sup> Philadelphia.

<sup>38</sup> The Swiss pfund is apparently meant. Türkenkorn is Indian corn.

<sup>39</sup> Rum, which at this time came mostly from Guiana and the West Indies.

<sup>40</sup> South Branch.

einen halben Gulden, aber es ist alles harte arbeit. wir haben auch eine stut Sau, eine kuh und ein kalben, und der Hansz Ulrich Spor hat zwo kiih und zwei hauptzugvieh. ich habe vernomen das die frichten their sind zu Basel, wie ich gehert hab so gilt der sack kernen 14 bisz 15 lb. und die räben seien von dem reifen erfroren, ich habe auch gehertt ihr haben ein hagelwätter gehabt, welches bese zeitungen sind. meine zwo eltsten techtern dienen in der stat Viladälvia und haben gute dienst. Der Schiflon über das mer kost eine gantze Fracht 83 lb. 10 s.<sup>41</sup> und wer das nicht vermag zu bezahlen der musz sich verkaufen fir das gelt, dan die einwohner des lands komen auf das schif die leut zu kaufen. eins das verkauft ist heizet man einen Serben. etliche müsén nur zwei jahr, etliche drei jahr, etliche vier jahr darfür dienen. die leit wo sie kaufen misen sie gleich bar bezahlen und wan sie ihre iahr auszgedient haben so misen sie ihnen noch ein frei kleid oder Sonntagskleid von Wollen geben von dem fusz bis auf das haupt. es gibt auch leit im land die ihre kinder verkaufen bisz auf ihr alter, ein knab bisz er 21 iahr alt ist und eine tochter bisz sie 18 iahr alt ist, weiter hinausz derfen sie nicht. Ich habe auch schon viel von den Wilden gesehen, es sind schwartzbraune leit, sie kennen insgemein englisch reden und kommen viel zu den Christen. Sie trinken sehr gern brandenwein, sie haben hirschheit umb sich oder wollen decken. weiters weisz ich nicht zu schreiben und ich mecht auch wieder eine antwort haben und wan ir mir schreibet so gebt den brief dem Krug im Eisenladen, dort wirtt ihn der man abholen. Ich habe den Jacob Jündt in einem schlechten standt angetrofen. er ist auf einem lechen nahe bei der statt und gehen täglich mit der milch zu marck und haben nicht im vorraht dan sie bauwen kein frucht und kaufen das brodt am becken. weiters weisz ich euch nicht zu schreiben. Wohl befohlen in den schutz und segén des allerhechsten gottes der himel und erden geschafen hat, hiemit verbleibe eiwer getrewer freind.

JACOB SEYLER anno 1750 den 7den tag Wintermonat.<sup>42</sup>

Wer gelt hat der findet güter genug zu kaufen um einen billichen breisz, dan es sind allezeit genugsam feil. es hat auch viel bappiren<sup>43</sup> gelt. die leit nehmen es lieber dan silber oder gold. ein neue französische Dublonen thut elf gulden, eine teische<sup>44</sup> Dugaten thut 5 lb. und 10 batzen, ein newen thaler thut siben und dreissig batzen und ein halben, es hat auch kleine müntz von Kupfer wie die Sauwsticklein und thut eins so viel als ein lutzer. ihr wollet den brief auch meinem schwager zu Bihl geben das er ihn auch besehe ob es ihm gefallen mecht.

Wer sich auf das mer begeben will der nehme mit sich dirr bihren und schnitz und wäitzen und kirsén und dirr brodt und esig und wein auch brandenwein, dan wir haben grosen mangel am waser misen leiden. wir hatten ein zimlich gros schif, es war hundert und siben und fünftzig werck schu lang und dreisig schu breit, es giene sechzehén schu tief in dem waser und hatte drei grose mastbeim.

<sup>41</sup> About thirty dollars.

<sup>42</sup> December 7.

<sup>43</sup> Papier.

<sup>44</sup> Teutsche.

*beiliegender zeddel:*

Diser brif zukome Caspar Krug im Eisenladen Handelsman in Basel.

Ich Jacob Seiler Häuslis Sohn von Bottinningen lase den herrn Johannes Krug freindlich grüsen. ich wolt den herren gebätten haben sie wollen so gitig sein und disen brief an den meier in Binningen schicken, und wan der meier einen andern brief thut an mich schreiben so bitte ich sie wollen ihn dem man widerum geben wan er zurück kumet. wohl befohlen in den schutz und segen des herren.

Den 7ten tag Wintermonat anno 1750.

4. FROM MATIS JUNT. 1752.<sup>45</sup>

Veter Andtony und veter Meirisz als unsere vöckht, wir Eüwere vockhtkinder laszen Eüch ein kleinen Bericht von uns hinden, weilen wir haben müsen so unabgeschetzt von Eüch gehen und mit eüch von keinen sachen haben reden können, wir bitten eüch doch von grund unser hertzen nemet es uns doch nicht so hoch und für übel auf. wir wolle in ein bar Tage eüch alle Bericht schickhen, wüe und auf weisz und ursach wir solches gethan haben und wolen Eüch alle umständt schreiben vor alen unsere sachen, so habet doch geduldt und laset es eüch doch nicht schwer falen und werfet eüch doch nicht ganz von uns ab. es ist uns leidt das wir es eüch nicht haben därke ofebare. verzeichet es uns doch dan unser absechen ist jetz dahin gestanden. got geb eüch glückh und segen und uns auch und sey auch unser gleidsman auf wegen und stegen. Seit doch auch so gut und nemet die küh in Eüwer gwarsame und auch die rosz und schauwet dasz Ihr sy könnet an dasz geld bringen. Wir bitten eüch doch nochmahlen seit doch nicht verdriesslich über uns das wir es eüch doch nicht gesagt haben von allem unserem vorhaben, wir wölen eüch in ein bar tagen gründlich berichten. ich habe auf diszmahl nicht mehr zeit gehabt zum schreiben. Wir laszen eüch insgesampt ale gott anbefohlen sey und zürnet doch nicht gegen uns und rechnet es uns doch nicht zu als wann wir als schelmen oder diebe vortgegangen weren, nein deswegen gar nicht, wir wolle eüch die ursach schon schreiben. es sol niemand betrogen seyn von wegen uns, wir haben guts genug hinderlaszen und veter Tohnÿ und veter Meiszes machet Eüwer müh allemahle zu erst bezahlt. vielleicht verkaufen wir die rosz noch zu Basel.

MATIS JUNT

hiermit Got befohlen.

5. FROM ELISABETA STROHMANN. 1768.<sup>46</sup>

Einen freundlichen Grusz von mir Elisabetha Strohmannen und von meinem Mann und von meinen kintern an meinen lieben vatter und mutter und an alle meine geschwister und an alle beyte Grosseldern und an alle gute Freunde in Ziffen sein von uns vihl dausend mahl gekrieset.

Was unsz angeth sein wir Gott lob noch frisch und gesund und ich hoffe dasz diese meine phar Zeile euch auch mechte bey guter gesundheit antreffen, wird es mir von hertzen lieb sein. nun will ich euch auch

<sup>45</sup> Staatsarchiv, Basel, Auswanderung A. A letter from emigrants leaving secretly, "Heimliche Emigranten", found annexed to a document of July 11, 1752.

<sup>46</sup> Staatsarchiv, Basel, Auswanderung A. It is found annexed to a letter of the Obervogt of Waldenburg, dated April 23, 1768.

schreiben wie es in diesem land ist, dasz land ist gut, ich hab doch satt brot in diesem land auch gehabt. wer schaffen will der kan sich gut nehmen in diesem land dann wasz man schafft dasz ist sein, man giebt kein Zinsz noch kein Zehnen in diesem land, es ist ein freyland, wasz man schafft dasz ist sein. nun will ich euch auch schreiben dasz ich von meinen landtleiten die mit mir ins land sein keinen weis als den Marthin Schob, der war schon vihl mahl bey mir, er und seine frau und wir wahren auch schon bey ihm, es geth dem Marthin Schob gut, sie haben für Kinder ein buben und drey Meth und einen grossen hoff und ist nichts mehr darauf schultig, und es geth mir auch gut in disem land, ich hab 35 morgen land und mein Mann ist ein weber, wir schaffen auf zwei stihlen auf dem handwerck und ich hab 4 Kinder, drey buben und ein Metgen. nun will ich auch schreiben dasz ich nichts von dem Johannes Degen weis und von der Besel. Ich hab noch keins von ihnen gesehen als ich im land bin.

6. FROM JOHANNES ERNST. 1773.<sup>47</sup>

*Anno 1773 den 12. October.* Ein fründlicher Grusz an Eüch, vielgeliebte alle meine brüder und geschweien. ich kann nit underlassen ich musz Euch die wahrheit schreiben wie es mit mir in der Welt stet. Ich möcht wüssen wie es mit Eüch stet. ich Johannes Ernst bin kommen in Ammerika in Sudkarlina burger und Einwohner und meine erste Frauw ist gestorben wo ich in der Schweiz gehirathet hab 1769 den 29ten Herbmomat und hat mir ein Sohn hinterlassen von fünf monat und ein halben, und hab mich wieder verheirathet 1771 den 7ten May, und meine lieben brüder ich han viel krankheit und sorgen gehabt, doch der lieb Gott hat mir geholfen in guten Orden dass ich wohl leben kan und hab mein Hausz und land in der stadt und auch die Schmeitten und han auch zwo hundert Jucharten waldt und verstandt auch die Englische sprach also wie die Tscheusche und mein Frau ist Englisch geboren und ihre Ölteren wahren auch ausz der Pfaltz und ich hab ein brief in die Schweitz geschickt ich habe keine Antwort bekommen und sie solen euch Brüdern darüber brichten. ich wolte von hertzen wünschen dass ich meine brüder könte sehen und weillen aber es ist krausam be-thurlich über dasz mehr und wie es mit dem land stedt es ist sehr gut.

Aber das land ist sehr ungesund der mensch gewondt ist und es ist sehr heiszland und die leuth werden nicht so alt wie im Deuschland 20 30 40. die schwartzen Mohren werden viel ölter, die kommen auch noch von einem heisseren Land, die werden gekauft für knecht. der Michel Vogt mein kammeradt hat 2 kaufd aber sie sind gestorben, er ist ein armer man. Er hat mühr verschworen meine fracht bezahle, Er hat es nicht gethan. Ein guten fründ hat mir geholfen und alles angeschafft und geburget. er hat mir arbeit aufnemen handtwerk dass ich in einem Jahr bey 6 hundert Pfunden verdiendt hat. Ich hab alles frey gemacht danck Gott Ich bin in einem guten Stand so lang Gott will. Zum beschluss wünsche ich und mein Frau und mein 4 jährig kind allen ein fründlichen Grusz und gute gesundheit so Gott will und wan wir nim-

<sup>47</sup> Staatsarchiv, Basel, Acten Waisengericht. The letter bears the following endorsement: "Diser Brief ist abgeschrieben ausz des Johannes Ernstens wo er in das Baden Durlachischer Lörcher amb [amt?] an seine brüderen geschriben ausz Ammerika in Sudkarlina von wort zu wort."

mermehr auf der Welt zu samten kommen so hoff ich im hiemmelreich wern wir zusamen kommen amen.

Ich JOHANNES ERNST ausz Ammerika in Sudkarlina  
als Burger und Einwohner von dar.

C. LETTERS OF EMIGRANTS (UNFAVORABLE). PUBLISHED AND  
CIRCULATED.

I. FROM ESTHER WERNDTLIN. 1736.<sup>48</sup>

Nachdeme Unsere Gn. Herren Ein E. Wohlweiser Raht dieser Stadt über den Zustand jeniger Leuten, welche in Pensylvaniam oder Carolinam gereiset, nachstehendes Schreiben, so vor einigen Wochen erst zu Zürich eingeloffen, und von dortig verburgerten Predigers Mauritz Gött-schius sel. Wittib aus Philadelphia, der Haubt-Stadt in Pensylvania schon den 24. Wintermonat 1736 an ihre Schwester zu Zürich geschrie-ben worden, von der Cantzley zu Zürich, mit dem Anhang, dass noch mehrere dergleichen Klag-Schreiben aus gemeldten Landen ein-kommen, erhalten, als haben Hochbesagte Unsere Gn. Herren befohlen, dieses Schreiben, als welches viel wichtige Umstand enthaltet, publiciren und ihren Unterthanen, absonderlich denen, welche noch eine Lust haben in gemeldte Land zu reisen, communicieren zu lassen: Den 2. Aprilis 1738  
Cantzley Basel /sst

*Abschrift eines Schreibens an Fr. Ursula Oehrin, gebohrne Werndtlin:*

Hertz Vielgeliebte Frauw Schwester und Herr Schwager und alle Menschen in meinem Vatterland. Ich weiss nit ob die Freud grösser, oder mein betrübter Zustand, darinn ich nach ausgestandener unbeschreib-licher unglücklicher Reiss, da es uns just gieng, wie es M. gn. Hhrrn und andere fromme Leuth treulich vorgesagt, sonderbar dem Vatter selig, da Ihme seine grosse Mühe und Sorg vor das gottlose Volk übel ist be-lohnet, solches wie allen Menschen zum Exempel, er seye Geist- oder Weltlich mit falschem aufrührischem Pöbel, die wider den Willen seiner Gn. Hhren aus dem Land ziehen, die billich von Gott mit Blindheit in Verstockung geschlagen werden, und in diesem Land nichts anders von Ihnen zu hoffen; dann dass sie zu Heiden werden, dann von Ihnen eines hier aus, das ander da hinaus kommet. Ein Mensch vor seine Fracht muss dienen 3 Jahr, die Kinder vor die halbe Fracht, die Meitli bis sie 18 Jahr, die Buben bis sie 21 Jahr alt, Unter so viel Religionen, Refor-mierten, Lutheranern, Catholischen, Tumblern, Mennisten, Pietisten, Quackern, Siebentägeren, Atheisten, auch die sich nennen Nichts, die kein Religion, kein Gottes-dienst, kein Kirchen, kein Schulen, ja kein Gott, kein Teuffel, kein Himmel, kein Höll glauben, auch so vielerley Sprachen, Englisch, Schwedisch, Nordwelsch, Hochdeutsch, Niderteutsch, Holländisch; da sind viel Niger, die werden nun hier für Slaven ver-kaufft für ihr Lebttag; die hieländischen Heiden wohnen under uns in Büschen, sind sehr abscheuliche Leuth, braun, recht gottlose Heiden, sie schlagen einander zu tod, wie die Hund, gehen nackend, geschminckt

<sup>48</sup> Staatsarchiv, Basel, Mandatasammlung I., vii, section 2a, no. 4. This old printed piece has been reprinted in the *Basler Jahrbuch* for 1883, p. 260. For Pastor Götschi, see James I. Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the United States*.



mit roth und grün und Gall-Farb, haben Ring an Ohren und Nasen; Ich fürcht sie sehr; Summa, der Religionen und Nationen ist hier kein Zahl, dies Land ist ein Zuflucht-Haus vertriebener Secten, ein Freystatt aller Ubelthäter in Europa, ein verwirrtes Babel, eine Behalt nus aller unreinen Geistern, eine Behausung der Teuffen, ein erste Welt, ein Sodom, das bedauerlichste ist, dass sie alle in gantz America lauter Schweitzer, was Deutsche aus Stätten, Landen und Dörfern des gantzen Schweitzer-Lands treffen wir hier Leuth an.

Es sind lauter Schweitzer die vor etwann 30. oder 40. Jahren, vor Hungers-Noth aus der Schweiz in die Pfaltz gezogen, nun aber in dis Land gekommen, und viele wegen mangel des Wort Gottes abgefallen zu allerhand Secten, so dass die Leuth am Leib, und sonderlich an der Seel jämmerlich zu Grund gehen müssen. dem Leib nach verderben sie wegen grausamer Kälte des Winters; dann die Kleider hier erschrocklich schlecht und theuer, dass sie nicht zu überkommen sind. Ein schlecht Hembd kostet 3. oder 4. fl.<sup>49</sup> Man tragt hier nur halb Wollen und leinen. Man vermag hier kein anderes; es ist hier im Winter über die massen kalt, im Sommer ist es über die massen wärmer weder im Schweitzer-Land, dass sehr veil Leuth vor Hitz verschmachten. man muss hier sehr schlecht leben in Speis und Tranck, das Brod ist sehr rauch, darneben Türcken-Korn, Buch-Weitzen, Erd-Aepfel ist unsere Speis, Wasser ist unser Tranck, ein Mass Wein gilt 3 fl. die Leut wohnen sehr weit von einander, die Nachbarn müssen oft eine Stund gehen durch Büsch und Hecken und Dorn, ehe sie zusammen kommen, darum man gar oft wegen den grossen Wasseren, und wilden Thieren, als Hirzen, Bären, Wölff, wild Katzen, schrecklich böse Schlangen antrifft, man muss reiten und ein Gewehr bey sich tragen; ihre Häuslein sind so ellend als kein Schwein-oder Schaaf-Stall im gantzen Schweitzer-Land, ihr Hausrath ist nüt als Rinden von Bäumen, Ihr Trinck-Geschirr und Schüsslen sind nüt anders als calbast oder Kürbsen. Summa, dies Elend ist nit zu beschreiben; was antrifft das Geistliche, ist viel ein grösser Elend, sie lernen nit lesen; haben weder Bücher noch Schrifftten, weder Kirchen noch Schulen, weder Kirchen-Diener noch Sacrament. Es kan nichts anders aus ihnen werden dann Heiden, die Jungen wissen nichts von Gott, darum sind sie so schrecklich ungehorsam den Elteren; wann sie 18. Jahr alt, dürfen ihnen die Elteren nüt mehr einreden, darum manche Elteren grausam seufzen müssen über diejenige, so sie verführen, wie ich leider mit allem anderen Unglück auch dies hab müssen erfahren. Was mich betrifft, so bin ich unter diesen die unglückhafteste Creatur und das allerärmste Mensch, dann was ich aus meinem Vatterland hiehar gebracht, ist noch gar verfaulet und verdorben, muss wohnen bey solchen Menschen, die mir nit nur nichts Guts thun, sonder mir dasjenige, was mir Gott in meinem Vatterland und Holland durch gute Leuth beschert, missgunnen. das Esterly und Mary Babely ernehren sich hin und her mit Spinnen; die drey jüngeren Knaben sind verbunden, bis Sie 21. Jahr alt sind; das jüngste ist bey mir. Mein Zustand ist sehr verächtlich, mein Beruff gilt gar nichts in diesem Land, hier kan ich kein Schul halten, weil mich niemand will aufnehmen, muss im äussersten Elend hier mein Leben zubringen, und von einem elenden Schlüpflin in das andere gestossen werden, und mein Elend meistens under den Widertäufferen bauwen, muss mein armes Leben auch zubringen bey denen, die kein Religion, kein

<sup>49</sup> Florins, or gulden, of about 45 cents.



Gottesdienst, kein Sacrament ästimieren. es ist wie ein Schwert in meinen Beinen, wann sie mich täglich schmähen und zu mir sagen, wo ist deine Religion, die du für deinen Gott haltest. Ich wolt tausend mahl lieber bey Catholischen wohnen; ich weis nit, wie es mit dem Heinrich<sup>50</sup> gehen wird, dann er sehr weit reisen muss, seine Predig-Stunden zu verrichten, braucht darzu sehr viele Schuh und Kleider, die Er wegen geringen Solds nit kan zuwegen bringen; Wann die Kleider vom Vatter S. verreissen, so muss er dann auch schier nackend gehen, ist mir sehr angst; O! hätten wir U. Gn. Hhren. und allen guten Leuthen gefolget, die uns so treulich gewahrnet, und wir doch nit hören wollen, darum kommt jetzt das Unglück über uns, und ist keine Erlösung zu hoffen, über dem abscheulichen Meer, bitte also alle Leuth in meinem Vatterland, dass sie sich nit so muthwillig dem Verbott M. Gn. Hhren. widersetzen, und sich mit Leib und Seel ins Elend stürzen, und meine arme Kinder, die an diesem Unglück kein Schuld tragen, wann die wieder einmal solten in ihr Vatterland kommen, dass man ihnen doch gnädig wäre. Ach hätten Meine Gn. Herren ihr Mandat ausgehen lassen, da wir noch daheim waren, es wird gewisslich allen denjenigen solch Unglück widerfahren, die sich ihrem Mandat halsstarrig widersetzen; wie es auch erfahren der Stricker von Wartau, der vor 2. Jahren mit etlich hundert von Bern abgefahren in Carolina, da sie mehr als der halbe Theil in selbigem Land verschmachtet, und Er wiederum mit etlich Frachten hiehar kommen, vor etlich Wochen sein armes Leben elendiglich aufgeben, und hinderliess die Wittwe und ein Söhnlein. Da heisst es: O Israel! dein Verderben ist aus dir, welches ich nun täglich klagen und seufzen muss; Siehe, das Unglück kommt von dem Herren, was soll ich fehrner auf den Herren warten, etc., etc.

Den 24. Nov. 1736, aus PHILADELPHIA  
in Pensylvanien

ESTHER WERNDTLIN.

2. EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF JOHANNES STOCKER, IN PENNSYLVANIA.  
1752.<sup>51</sup>

Ich solte nun auch eine kurze Beschreibung machen hiesiger Landen Beschaffenheit, welche doch sehr weit in Fruchtbarkeit und Gutheit von einandern unterscheiden; allein vorerst muss ich der vätterlichen Vorsorg der hohen Lands-Obrigkeit in Bern allen Preis geben, dass sie das hieher nach America ziehen ihren Unterthanen verbieten, ich achte es als ein grosser Seegen Gottes. O wie viel tausend arme Kinder verliehren ihre Eltern zur See, und damit alles was sie haben, werden im Land verstreut, unter aller Gattung Leute; wissen nicht woher sie sind, von keiner Religion hören sie nichts, und werden meistens nicht besser gehalten als die Leibeigenen Schwarzen. Ich kann nicht begreifen, wie die Stände es vor Gott verantworten können, dass sie zum Hieherziehen ihren Leuten so viel Vorschub thun; sie müssen nicht wahrnehmen, was David sagt: Bleibe in deinem Vatterland und ernehere dich redlich;<sup>52</sup> nicht darum, als ob das Land nicht fruchtbar genug seye, ein Reicher kan

<sup>50</sup> See *Guide*, p. 18.

<sup>51</sup> Staatsarchiv, Bern. This and the next piece were from letters confiscated in 1752 by the cantonal government. Taken from the *Hinkender Bote*, 1749-1756.

<sup>52</sup> Psalm xxxvii. 3. See p. 24, above.

hier nach Belieben leben, ein Armer findt sein Brod durch harte Arbeit, ein Sauffer und Faullenzer aber ist ein verlohrender Tropf, und zu diesen unsern Zeiten sind Wenige die zu etwas kommen, als etwann dann und wann ein Handelsmann, oder ein guter Handwerksmann; das Wort des Herrn aber ist allhier theur, und sind wenige die darnach fragen, die Vielheit der Secten könnte ich nicht benamsen; aber die Vielheit der wahren Christen ist sehr schmahl. Allen Vorthail so man hier hat, bestehet in der Freyheit, welche gemeiniglich sehr missbraucht wird: ob man sich Christenlich und ordentlich aufführe und einigen Gottesdienst pflege oder nicht, darum halt niemand keine Nachfrag. Dem Könige und einer Hohen Obrigkeit zahlen wir nicht viel, etwas wenigen Land-Unkosten; tragen aber auch für die Magistratur gar keinen Respect. Wir gehen bey du und du. In Handel und Wandel sind wir frey denselben allhier zu treiben, der Naturalisirte wie der Unnaturalisirte. Von Pollicey-Ordnung wissen wir noch wenig; das Land aber ist so voller Laster als immer ein Platz in Europa: in Summa, es ist bey nahem ein jeder sein eigener Herr; geniesset aber im Nothfall sehr schlechte Protection. Das Land um Philadelphia herum ist sehr theuer, wie auch die Losamenter daselbst; hier aber in Neu-Jersey, wo ich bin, ist es schlecht, und kan kein Mensch mit Sicherheit etwas kauffen. die Neu-länder so hinaus kommen, sind insgemein gewissenlose Seelenverkäufer und Betrüger, denen nicht viel zu glauben; sagen sie: ein Arbeiter könne des Tags mehr als 10. Batzen verdienen, so sagen sie zwar in Thesin die Wahrheit, vergessen aber zu sagen, dass wann man ein Ell von 3. Schuh lang grob und unspunnig Tuch kauffen will, man dafür 10. Batzen bezahlen muss, und so alles nach dieser Proportion.

JOHANNES STOCKER.

3. FROM A LETTER OF A PEASANT FROM THE OBERLAND. 1752.

*Geliebter Jacob Border!*

Ich lasse euch und den wehrten Lands-Venner Sterchi, beyder Haus-Frauen und Kinder, zu tausendmalen grüssen, und danken euch zu beyden Seiten ganz höchlich, für das Reisgelt das ihr mir gegeben habt, sonst hätte ich kurz wurden abbeissen,<sup>53</sup> weilen ich so gottlos bin angeführt worden, mit meinem grossen Herrn der mich gottloser weis aus dem Land geführt hat, und in der Noht verlassen hat, dass ich mich hab drey Jahr müssen verserben, und bin zu einem gottlosen Mann kommen; dort bin ich gsin 14. Monat, jetzen hat mich der Christen Zingreich dort mit seinem Sohn verkauft um 44. Bern-Croni, ich bin bey ihm zwey Jahr lang das Gelt abzuverdienen. Was das Land anbetrifft, ist gut, aber wer kein Gelt in das Land bringet, der kommt in die grösste Armuth. Ich bitte dich und der Lands-Venner Sterchi, dass ihr mir doch wollet so gut seyn und ein Steuer schicken, dass ich kan wieder aussie kommen, und befigle euch dem Schutz Gottes und seiner Gnaden.

<sup>53</sup> Kurze Bissen, Kurzes Anbeissen, poor grazing for cattle, here used figuratively.

D. EXAMINATIONS OF DEPARTING EMIGRANTS.<sup>54</sup>

I. RELATION DER HERREN DEPUTIERTEN WEGEN EINIGEN UNDERTHANEN  
SO IN CAROLINAM REISEN WOLLEN. 1736.

*Wohlweiser Herr Bürgermeister  
Hochgeacht und  
Gnädige Herren!*

Zufolg der von Euer Gnaden Uns aufgetragenen Commission, haben wir Jenige Underthanen welche schon von Euer Gnaden die erlaubnus erhalten fortzuziehen, ferner in Ihrem anbringen vernommen welche einmühtiglich ausgesagt dass der meisten gegenwertige grosse Armuth oder bevorstehenden ohnaussbleiblicher mangel sie aus dem land treibe, in welchem sie keine güeter besitzen und durch andere arbeit Ihre zahlreichen Familien nicht durchzubringen wussen; gehet daher dero tringendliche bitte dahin Euer Gnaden wolten sie in Ansehung der manumissions und abzugsgebühren gnädiglich ansehen. Es sind aber die Familien, welche sich solche gnad aussbitten nachfolgende.

Hans Rudi Erb von Rotenflue ist ledig hat ein bös gesicht und 130 lb. im Vermögen.

Jakob Würtz von Dürnen hat ein Frau, 7 Kinder und nichts im Vermögen als etwan 300 lb. so sein noch lebende Eltern Ihme mitgeben wollen.

Heinrich Gisin von Dürnen hat ein Frau, 2 Kinder und vermag nichts.

Martin Gass von Rothenflue hat 1 Frau 8 Kinder und weiter nichts.

Heini Gerster von Dürnen hat ein Frau, 4 Kinder und 1500 lb.

Hans Jakob Märcklin von dar hat 1 Frau, 4 Kinder und sonst nichts.

Hans Jakob Keller von Rothenflue hat 1 Frau 3 Kinder und 250 lb. in Gelt.

Jakob Brüderlin von Muttentz ein Frau 2 Kinder und 100 lb. in Gelt.

Hans Jakob Thommen von Zeglingen hat ein Frau, 1 Kind und bey 450 lb.

Rudi Bey von Münchenstein hat ein Frau 1 Kind und 2 Grosskinder, im Vermögen 60 lb.

Hans Joggi Grieder von Rüneberg hat ein Frau 3 Söhn und 400 lb. in Gelt.

Hans Thommen von Höllstein ein Frau und 1 Kind und sonst nichts.

Hans Meyer von Rothenflue hat ein Frau und im Vermögen 300 lb.

Christof Span von Beucken hat ein Frau 4 Kinder und kein Gelt.

Martin Tschudin von Lausen hat ein Frau 4 Kinder und in Gelt 150 lb. und

Margreth Eck von Diegten so ledig und by 60 lb. besitzt.

Verlesen den 25. Aprilis 1736.

2. INFORMATION DURCH DIE HERREN DEPUTIIRTE DEN 22N FEB. 1738.  
AUFGENOMEN.

Peter Schwab von Biel ein Steinhauer und Maurer 30 Jahr alt.

B. Ob er den Ihne vorgelegten brief von Durs Thommen bekommen?

A. Nein sonderen von H. Johannes Wiester einem Kaufman zu Philadelphia.

<sup>54</sup> Staatsarchiv, Basel, Auswanderung A. (both documents).

- B. Was ihn veranlasst in Americam zu reisen?
- A. habe in Londen gearbeitet und weilten er keine arbeit mehr gefunden so habe er sich anno 1735 in Majo auf St. Catharina Schiff embargiert und in Zeit 8 Wochen 5 Tag in Pensylvaniam ankommen; ein Schlesinger kaufman habe Deponenten mitgenommen, welchem Er dafür 6 Dublonen und ein Guinee für Zins abverdienen müssen, welches er in einem halben Jahr mit Steinhauen und Mauren nebst der Kost abverdienet, man zahle täglich Lohn 3 englische Schilling; Nachdem er nun zwey und ein halb Jahr lang in Americam gewesen, so seye er widerum heraus kommen, weilten er elteren habe die sehr alt seyen; in Pensylvania und Virginien seye das Land gut, man müsse aber alles kaufen, hingegen in Carolina habe man das Land umsonst, allein es seye darinnen sehr ungesund.
- B. Ob er noch mehrere Brief habe?
- A. Ja, einige nacher Zürich und Bern und einige auf Bratelen.
- B. Wie arme Leut ins Land kommen, die den Schifflohn nicht bezahlen können?
- A. Der Schiffcapitain nemme alles an, und geben es so den in Phyladelphia kaufleuth die den Schifflohn bezahlen und die übergebrachte Leuth solhen dan mit ihrer arbeit abverdienen müssen.
- B. wie die kranken Leuth versorget werden?
- A. die Leuth seyen sehr barmherzig und verstossen die kranken nicht. endet.

Heinrich Thommen von Lampenberg und Emanuel Bürgin von Bumbendorf, waren befragt, was sie bewege aus dem Land zu ziehen?

- A. Thommen antworhet, er könne sich nicht ausbringen ohngeacht die Frau auf seinem Gallunen Stuhl fleissig arbeite, habe 4 kinder und wüsse sie nicht mehr zu ernehren.
- B. wer ihm anleitung gebe, die reis anzutreten?
- A. müsste gute Leuth suchen, die ihm die Anleitung geben könnten.
- B. Ob er einige klägten habe, darum er fortziehen wolle?
- A. Nein.

endet.

Emanuel Bürgin sagt er seye ein Armer Tagelöhner und habe darzu wenig zu verdienen, also dass er sich sein Weib und ein Kind nicht mehr erhalten könne.

- B. Ob er etwas wider Jemand zu klagen habe?
- A. Nein.

Uebrigens sagen beide für sich und in dem nammen aller übrigen so fortziehen wollen, dass sie entweder gar nichts zu schaffen haben, und wan sie auch wirklich tag und nacht zu schaffen hätten, dennoch sich nicht durchbringen können, wollten daher in Zeiten gehen, weilten sie annoch etwas wenig haben und Ihre Elteren ihnen etwas auf den Weg geben könnten.

#### E. DECREES AGAINST EMIGRATION.

##### I. VERORDNUNG WEGEN WEGZIEHUNG DER UNTERTHANEN. 1749.<sup>55</sup>

Wir Burgermeister und Rath der Statt Basel, entbieten allen und jeden Unseren Angehörigen Unseren gnädigen Willen und Gruss und geben

<sup>55</sup> Staatsarchiv, Basel, printed Mandat, in Auswanderung A.

anbey denselben hiemit zu vernehmen, wie dass Wir zwar in Absicht auf deren so wohl Leibes als der Seelen Wohlfahrt zu verschiedenen Mahlen und sonderlich in dem Jahr 1738. das Wegziehen in die entfernten Americanische Länder Carolina, Pensilvanien, Georgien und andere, misrathen und verboten haben; Indeme die aus diesen Ländern erhaltene Nachrichten und die Erfahrung bezeugen, dass die dahin Gezogenen mehrentheils in grosses Elend und Mangel leiblicher Nahrung sowohl als geistlichen unterrichts gerathen, eine weit grössere Menge aber auf der langwierig und gefährlichen Reise durch mancherley Zufälle erkranket und gestorben seyen. Wann aber dieses alles bey vielen nichts gefruchtet, sondern sie durch schmeichelhaftes und betrüglisches Vorgeben einiger aus diesen Ländern zurückgekommener eigennütziger Werbern, oder durch selbstgefasste ohngegründete Hoffnung ohne Schweiss und Arbeit daselbstens Nahrung und Reichthum in Ueberfluss zu erwerben, sich verführen lassen, ihr Vatterland, da sie doch durch ihren Fleiss vermittelt Göttlichen Segens ihren guten Unterhalt haben und finden können, zu verlassen, und ein anderes mit grosser Gefahr und vielen Kosten zu suchen, da sie lange nicht die zu Hause verachteten Vorteile erhalten können: als finden Wir Uns genöthiget Unsere vorgehende Verordnungen aus Landes vätterlicher Vorsorge zu verschärfen, damit doch das Verderben vieler übelberathener Leuten verhütet werde:

I. Wir wollen und befehlen demnach für das Erste, dass auf die, welche sich unterstehen wurden Unsere Unterthanen zu dem Wegziehen zu bereden, und also zu werben, wie auch auf die Weggezogenen, welche ohne von Uns erhaltene ausdrückliche Erlaubnuss wieder in das Land kommen wurden, geflissene Achtung gegeben, und auf Betreten ohngesamt Unseren Oberbeamteten verzeigt werden sollen, damit sie in Verhaft mögen genommen und von Uns befindenden Dingen nach bestraft werden.

II. Zwaytens wollen Wir, dass sowohl von denen Unterbeamteten als einem Jeden. insgemein, jenige, welche sich vornehmen möchten insgeheim und ohne Unsere Erlaubnuss wegzuziehen, beobachtet, und Unseren Oberbeamteten zeitlich gerueget werden. Dann wir diejenigen Gemeinen und Unterbeamteten, welche hierinn saumselig seyn und, wann sie ein solch heimliches Vorhaben und Anstalten darzu vermerckten, solches nicht anzeigen wurden, mit gebührenden Straf ansehen, und insonderheit die Versorgung der umvermögenden Eltern, Weibern und Kinderen solcher Weggezogenen ihnen auflegen werden.

III. Und gleichwie Wir schon unterm 22. Mertzens letzthin zur Nachricht allen Unseren Unterthanen, fürnemlich aber denen, welche sich damals vorgenommen wegzuziehen, in die Aemter kundgemacht, welcher massen Wir Uns vorbehalten in Ansehung derer Erbschaften, welche einem oder dem anderen der Wegziehenden zufallen möchten, nach Gutbefinden zu erkennen, als ordnen und setzen Wir hiemit, dass alle diejenigen Unserer Angehörigen, welche von besagtem 22. Mertzens an aus dem Land in Americam gezogen, und fürterhin wegzuziehen werden, auf keine Weis etwas erblich weder à testato noch ab intestato aus dem Land sollen beziehen können, sondern *als tod angesehen*, und was ihnen hätte zukommen sollen, denen übrigen nächsten Anverwandten, oder falls deren keine vorhanden Unserem Fisco und dem Armen-Seckel der Gemeind zugetheilet werde.

IV. Damit aber diese Unsere Verordnung nicht hintergangen, und

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denen Weggezogenen auf andere Weis ihr Erbtheil gantz oder etwas davon gegeben oder zugeschicket werde, lassen Wir es bey Unserem schon gethanen Verbott bewenden, dass niemand denen wegziehen wollenden etwas auf ihr Erb hin voraus gebe, solches ihnen abkauffe, oder andere Contracte darüber mit ihnen schliesse: Massen Wir alles was zu Hindergehung solch Unseres Verbotts wurde gegeben oder versprochen werden, als unkräftig, nichtig und unerlaubt aufheben und die wieder Unsere Verordnung disorts Handlende mit gebührender Strafe ansehen werden.

Darum so gebieten Wir allen Unseren Oberbeamteten auf Unserer Landschaft zu veranstalten, dass obstehend Unserer Verordnung in allen Stucken durch die Unterbeamtete und Gemeinen nachgelebt werde, zu welchem End dieselbe ab den Cantzlen kund gemacht und jährlich verlesen werden solle.

Also beschlossen in Unserer Raths-Versammlung den 13. Augstmonats 1749.

Cantzley Basel /ssst.

2. ANHANG ZUR VERORDNUNG WEGEN DEM AUSWANDERN DER UNTER-  
THANEN. 1773.<sup>56</sup>

Nachdem Unsere Gnädigen Herren E. V. und Wohlweiser Rath dieser Stadt wahrgenommen, dass die Begehren um Verabfolgung der Mitteln, welche denen in Amerika oder anderswohin emigrirten Unterthanen durch Erbschafft zufallen, sehr vervielfältiget werden, dahingegen die Fälle, da von denen an solchen Orten Verstorbenen an die hiesigen Unterthanen Etwas gelangt ist, sich sehr selten, oder deren gar keine ereignet; wobey nicht ohne Grund zu vermuthen ist, dass öftters, von denen verabfolgten Mitteln wenig oder gar nichts, an jene für welche sie begehrt worden, gelange, sondern das Meiste denen Ausgeschickten in den Händen bleibe, und diese *Emissarii* sich dieser Gelegenheit bedienen noch andere dergleichen Erbschafften auszuspähen, und mehrere Unterthanen durch eitele oder gar falsche Beredungen zur Auswanderung zu verleiten, und solche dadurch in Unglück zu bringen; So haben Hochgedacht UNSERE GNÄDIGEN HERREN der Nothdurft angemessen erachtet, zu verordnen, was hienach folgt:

I. Solle auf alle dergleichen ankommende Neuländer und *Emissarien* genau vigiliret, selbige nirgendwo im Land gelitten, sondern ihnen angezeigt werden, innert Frist von zwei Tagen ihr Anligen und Gesuch Ihro Gnaden den Regierenden Herren Häubtern vorzutragen, widrigenfalls sie nicht mehr sollen angehört, sondern beygefangt werden. Bey Anhörung dieser Neuländern wird es Ihro Gnaden den Herren Häubtern belieben, solchen Leuten zu befehlen, sich nirgends als in der Stadt aufzuhalten, ihre Sachen allda zu betreiben, und nach deren Beendigung sich sogleich wiederum fortzubeben.

II. Damit aber Niemand in seinem Eigentumsrechte gestöhret werde, so solle zwar die Auslüferung der Mitteln für jene, welchen sie rechtmässig zugehören, fernerhin gestattet werden, jedoch nicht anderst als auf Vorweisung unzweifelhafter Instrumenten und Vollmachten. Eine solche Vollmacht, damit sie könne angenommen werden, solle vor der Obrigkeit oder den Vorgesetzten der, dem Ansprecher, nächstgelegenen

<sup>56</sup> Staatsarchiv, Basel, printed Mandat, in Auswanderung A.

Stadt declarirt, von diesen ein förmliches Instrument verfertigt, und darinn nicht nur des Ansprechers Namen, Aufenthalt, Alter und Umstände gemeldet, sondern auch dessen Herkunft, insbesondere aber dessen Titul zu den begehrenden Mitteln umständlich eingeruckt werden. Dieses Instrument solle nachwärts von dem *Gouverneur* oder Stadthalter der Provinz *legalisirt*, und wann es in einem andern Welttheil als Europa gelegen, von demjenigen Herrn Staats-*Secretario*, unter welchem die Landschaft stehet, mit Unterschrift bezeuget werden, dass alle vorweisenden *Attestationen* gültig und wahrhaft, mithin keinem Zweifel unterworfen seyen.

Diese Verordnung solle aller Orten kund gemacht, zu dem Ende jährlich als ein Anhang und mit der Verordnung über das Auswandern der Unterthanen, ab den Canzlen verlesen, von sämtlichen Herren Oberbeamten aber darauf geflissentlich gehalten, und alle Unterbeamten zu genauer *Vigilantz* angewiesen werden.

Also erkannt den 30. Jenners 1773.

Canzley Basel ssst.

F. POSTER OF PURRY AND COMPANY OF NEUCHÂTEL, SOLICITING  
EMIGRANTS. 1725.<sup>57</sup>

*AVERTISSEMENT.*

Messieurs Purry et Compagnie ayant besoin de trois ou quatre cents Hommes Ouvriers de differentes Professions, pour aller faire un bon Etablissement en Amérique dans la Caroline Méridionale, qui est certainement l'un des meilleurs Païs de l'Univers; font sçavoir à ceux qui voudront y aller, qu'on les recevra aux conditions suivantes.

I. Qu'ils soyent Suisses Protestans, âgés depuis vingt jusqu'à quarante ans, ayant un bon témoignage de probité et de bonnes mœurs.

II. Qu'ils serviront pendant le terme de cinq Années à compter depuis le jour qu'on aura pris possession du Païs; et que leurs appointemens commenceront à courir depuis ce jour là.

III. Qu'ils feront le métier de la Guerre pour la déffense du Païs, lorsque la nécessité le demandera.

IV. Qu'ils auront chacun neuf Livres Sterlings de gâge par Année, qui font quarante Ecus-blancs.

V. Qu'après cinq Années de service, ils seront payés de leurs gages, soit en Argent ou en bons effets appartenants à la Societé, qui seront à leur choix au prix courant en Caroline.

VI. Qu'ils auront outre leurs gâges, chacun cinq Arpens de terres défrichées et quarante cinq Arpens de bonnes terres non-défrichées, franchises de dixmes, details, d'impots et de toutes autres redevances, si ce n'est trois Deniers Sterlings qui font trois Sols de cense foncière annuellement.

VII. Que les Femmes ou Filles auront trois Livres Sterlings, qui font quarante Francs en Espèces de gâge par Année, et à la fin de cinq Années de service, elles auront deux Arpens de terres défrichées, et dix-huit Arpens de terres non-défrichées, franchises de tous Impots à la reserve de trois Deniers Sterlings, qui font trois Sols de cense foncière par Arpent, par An.

<sup>57</sup> Staatsarchiv, Bern.



VIII. Qu'ils se rendront en Angleterre à leurs fraix, pour y être embarqués pour la Caroline Méridionale, et depuis le jour de leur embarquement, ils seront nourris aux dépens de la Société jusqu'à la fin de leur engagement.

IX. Que ce qui leur sera delivré des Magasins de la Société pour leurs habillemens, leur sera mis en Compte, en déduction de leurs gâges, mais les fraix du trajet d'Angleterre en Amérique jusqu'au lieu de leur destination, l'entretien des Ministres et des Chirurgiens ou autres fraix, seront supportés par la Société.

X. Que nul ne pourra faire directement ni indirectement aucun Commerce particulier, mais ceux qui auront quelque Argent pourront le placer entre les mains de la Société qui s'obligera de le leur rendre après cinq Années et d'en payer les Interrêts suivant les loix établies en Caroline, à raison de dix pour Cent, par An.

XI. Et enfin, que si quelqu'un de la troupe venoit à mourir avant la fin de son engagement, on fera tenir à ses Héritiers les gâges, qui luy seront deus au jour de sa mort, et ses Enfants s'il en laisse, seront entretenus aux dépens de la Société.

Fait à Neufchâtel le 28. Juin 1725. et imprimé chez

JEAN BUNDELI Imprimeur.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*The Origin and Treatment of Discrepancy in Trustworthy Records; Fundamental Processes in Historical Science: Part I. The Correct Processes; Part II. The Incorrect Processes.* By HERVEY M. BOWMAN, Ph.D. [From the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, series III., vol. V., sect. II.; vol. VI., sect. II.; vol. IX.] (Ottawa: Royal Society of Canada. 1916. Pp. 127-128; 133-164; 489-587.)

THE most important single features in any historical method [writes Dr. Bowman] are its test for trustworthiness in records and its treatment of conflicting statements in trustworthy records where circumstances of the discrepancy are unknown. In the prevailing method the treatment of such discrepancies is to attempt a harmonization . . . the present method's grand test for trustworthiness in records is their contemporaneity. Both the treatment and the test are incorrect and are purely probable processes [*Fundamental Processes*, part II., p. 494] . . . After a century's trial of the present method historical science is sinking, with respect to its own chief specific requirement, more and more into the place where it is only marking time. . . . To the question here under test, "Is history a science?", the answer, under the prevailing method, according to the adherents of that method, is that it is not [*ibid.*, p. 501].

Clearly "a direct declaration of war" on the "orthodox method" of historical science. What is the trouble with the "prevailing method" and how does Dr. Bowman propose to improve it?

1. The "orthodox" method attempts to harmonize discrepancies in a record. In his first study Dr. Bowman proves from an examination of twenty-six cases, that "where the circumstances of the discrepancy are unknown", an attempt to harmonize them "is a mere groping in the dark" and "the scientific requirement in such cases is silence concerning the point in contradiction". Why silence? The "orthodox" method would note the discrepancies, recognize that it was impossible, "the causes of the discrepancies being unknown", to harmonize them, and would add—in the words of Dr. Bowman—that "the impossibility of finding a reasonable harmonization does not prove that the discrepancy cannot be reconciled in fact".

2. The prevailing method holds that a fact is established by the agreement of the affirmations of two independent witnesses, if they are not self-deceived, and as, for many periods of history, it is impossible to secure the testimony of such independent witnesses, it is impossible to

attain to certainty concerning the facts of that period. Dr. Bowman takes the ground that it is unreasonable to make such a demand and devotes his second pamphlet to an attempt to show that "any record must, if it exemplify in its statements the requisites for trustworthiness, be accepted as essentially correct . . . though it be the sole record of the events narrated" and "there is no need of a checking or corroborating record to ascertain whether the statements in the single record are essentially correct. They could not be otherwise." The reason they could not be otherwise is that "in historical, as in all other science, only those conclusions should be accepted which are established as necessary by processes that, rightly followed, lead necessarily to correct results; and where an operator is accredited as applying such processes, his results must be accepted as correct, unless the contrary be proven".

The processes, the correct application of which leads to correct results and renders a record trustworthy, are:

(1) Right discernment and clear statement, (2) Serious effort to inform the hearer or reader according to his interest, (3) Exercise of impartiality, (4) Preservation of poise, (5) Exclusion of admittedly unnecessary conclusions. These five fundamental processes are not exact processes and cannot make history an exact science, but by them she can attain to essential correctness, which is all that any branch of science can achieve. In a narrative formulated on the basis of these processes, the historian cannot provide certainty in individual statements. . . . Under the prevailing method, history is the great exception among the sciences. It has no fundamental correct process or processes.

3. The third pamphlet treats of the use of probability as one of the fundamental processes in historical science and of "the erroneous attitude of the prevailing method toward records as such". Three forms of probability are distinguished, formal, pure, and reasoned, and after an examination of twelve cases involving the use of probability, Dr. Bowman reaches the following conclusions:

(1) Formal probability, or the application of the correct processes, should be invariably used where this is possible; (2) Pure probability, regardless of its height, should not be used where formal probability, *i. e.*, a correct process, is available; (3) Reasoned probability ought not to be used as a positive criterion of conclusions in scientific, including historical investigation, but reasoned probability has a most important function in guiding the investigator in search for available evidence and also as a resisting negative force to assist in the exclusion of reasonable doubt from the final conclusions, and to detect, if possible, latent defects in the application of correct processes in the inexact sciences, such as the exemplification of the requisites of trustworthiness in history, thereby reducing the percentage of incidental error in the final results reached by the application of correct processes or formal probability.

The latter part of the pamphlet is devoted to a criticism of the "erroneous attitude of the prevailing method toward records as such" and is a mass of misunderstandings and misinterpretations of the

method. "Record" means now source and again secondary work; because the prevailing method insists that the best kind of a source is the record of an eye-witness, Dr. Bowman insists that it makes "contemporaneity" the chief test of trustworthiness and ignores all others; increase in the quantity of careful monographic work instead of being looked upon as a proof of scientific advance is held up as proof of decadence, of inability to produce a larger synthesis; these larger syntheses could be written, if we would only "trust the record", eliminate foot-notes, that often occupy more space than the text, and accept the results of the work of the careful investigator as authoritative. The treatment of Thucydides, at the close of the pamphlet, is an astonishing example of what this kind of medieval confidence in a writer will lead to. Dr. Bowman quotes Macaulay, Jowett, Freeman, Rhodes, and *all the English encyclopedias* (!) to prove that Thucydides was "the embodiment of all the virtues of his calling and of all political wisdom and prescience as well. . . . Thucydides", he tells us, "has no foot-notes. The books of his day being on rolls and not paged did not admit of them. Neither has he sustained himself occasionally by mentioning in the narrative itself some of the sources of his statements. And yet Thucydides is accounted not only a good, but the best and greatest historian."

All that is sound in Dr. Bowman's monograph touching the evaluation of a source has already been stated by Bernheim, and in greater detail; all that is new smacks of the credulity of the Middle Ages to which it is not at all probable that historical science will revert.

FRED MORROW FLING.

*Homer and History.* By WALTER LEAF, Litt.D., Hon.D.Litt. [The N. W. Harris Lectures, 1914-1915. Northwestern University.] (London: The Macmillan Company. 1915. Pp. xvi, 375.)

To say of any book that it is a worthy successor to Mr. Leaf's *Troy: a Study in Homeric Geography* is to accord it very high praise (cf. *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII. 563) both as a work of literature and as a piece of scholarly investigation. That statement the reviewer can make gladly and unhesitatingly with regard to *Homer and History*, although his attitude to the two books is quite different.

The value of the former work lay in the convincing establishment of its main thesis—the reality of the Trojan War. That idea came practically as a novelty—it had been so long and vigorously rejected—and it is destined, in the reviewer's opinion, to become the corner-stone of Homeric studies. Nothing of the sort is contained in the present attempt to erect a superstructure upon that foundation. Its merit lies on the contrary in a wealth of detail, often brilliant and convincing, always stimulating and suggestive; but which in the opinion of the reviewer needs rectification at many points.

The opening chapter, Gods and Men, is a discussion of *Sagenver-*

*schiebung* and kindred ideas, leading up to the conclusion that it is nothing unreasonable to "take the ostensibly historic background of the Homeric poems to represent fact, clothed in poets' forms, but still remaining fact". Chapter II. pictures according to archaeological evidence and Egyptian records "The Coming of the Achaians". The exclusion of the evidence from Greek dialectology seems to have brought its own punishment, but the chapter contains a fascinating comparison of the Achaians with the Normans in Sicily, and a convincing and much needed refutation of the proposition: "All changes of race involve changes of culture perceptible to the archaeologist." The four following chapters, Boeotia, the Dominion of Peleus, the Dominion of Odysseus, the Realm of Agamemnon, confront the picture of Achaian Greece gathered from the rest of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* with that offered by the Catalogue of the Ships to show that while the former is "consistent alike with itself, with geography and Greek tradition", the latter is in direct contradiction with all three. This dissonance is real and has long been felt, but the argument for it has never been presented so clearly and completely as Mr. Leaf has given it. Of especial value are the description of the geographical conditions at Aulis, the presentation of Dörpfeld's Leukas-Ithaka hypothesis in a way that ought to carry conviction, the identification of Taphos with Corfu, and the discussion of the meanings of Argos. In regard to the last it should be noted that Argos = Peloponnese is later than Argos = Greece. That reflects the first step in the dismemberment of Agamemnon's realm. The seventh chapter deals with the rise of Hellenism from the "Fusion of Races"—the Achaian conquerors and the subject "Pelasgian" population. The final chapter gives Mr. Leaf's theory of the rise of "The Achaian Epos". The Homeric poems represent the literary tradition of the Achaian courts undisturbed by the vagaries of popular fancy; they are genuine history, though poetically embroidered. This belief the reviewer cannot share. If the *Iliad* were history, the *Odyssey* could not, as it does, put a taboo upon every incident mentioned in the other poem, and still remain historical itself. The mere fact that the *Odyssey* mentions neither Hector nor Paris is extremely significant. Equally so perhaps is a discrepancy between the poems which is so far from being obvious that it has escaped even Mr. Leaf. In the *Iliad* the base of the expedition against Troy is Lemnos; in the *Odyssey* the rôle played by that island is purely mythological, its place in the story of the war being apparently taken by Lesbos.

Legend—a nucleus of fact and an accretion of fancy—must still, the reviewer believes, be regarded as the foundation of the poems. Mr. Leaf's service is that he has shown that this nucleus is real, and that it is much larger than would have been expected. It is a service for which we should be very grateful.

G. M. BOLLING.

*Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity: being Studies in Religious History from 330 B. C. to 330 A. D.* By F. LEGGE, F.S.A. In two volumes. (Cambridge: University Press. 1915. Pp. xlviii, 202; ix, 425.)

MR. LEGGE begins with Alexander as a forerunner of Christianity, since the marriage of Europe and Asia and the fusion of religions initiated by Alexander's conquests opened the era of general religious associations made up of individuals without regard to nationality or social rank, with rituals rehearsing the passion, death, and resurrection of a god. In particular Mr. Legge gives a most interesting account of the Alexandrian fusion of Greek and Egyptian cults which was fostered by Ptolemy. The bulk of the work is devoted to the study of Gnosticism, Mithraism, and Manichaeism. The transition from paganism to the Gnosticism which attached itself to the Christian movement is here shown to begin with the teaching of Orphic circles, and it is by this construction of the process of religious development that Mr. Legge's book distinguishes itself, making intelligible the ideas and practices which pagans brought as the content of their lives to the portals of Christianity.

As for the cults considered, no writer in English has given us a treatment equal to this in erudition, and many things known only to the few are here brought to more general knowledge, as, for example, what has been learned about Manichaeism by recent discoveries of remains in Asia. Throughout the two volumes Mr. Legge enters with great zest into the details of speculations bewildering and fantastic, and it is probable that specialists will profit by this copious and minute discussion. For a quarter of a century articles in learned journals have evidenced the author's industry, and he prefaces this work with a list of something like five hundred titles of books and articles referred to in the text. The somewhat miscellaneous character of the list makes one regret that he did not give instead a critical bibliography of more modest dimensions. It is a surprise to discover that a scholar of such learning has not used the works of Reitzenstein or Rohde's *Psyche*, and the absence of Conybeare's *Key of Truth* is to be deplored since it would have made impossible the references to the Paulicians as Manichaeans (II. 321, 357).

The appearance of this formidable work is an event of importance at a time when there is increasing interest in the relation of Christian forms of belief and ritual practice to those of pagan cults. Mr. Legge considers that the channel of pagan influence on Christianity was the Gnostic movement—a stage for many in the transition from paganism. With regard to the difficult topic of Gnosticism we may waive what might be at issue between Legge's account and Faye's *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme* (listed but apparently not appropriated), but in general it may be said that Mr. Legge obscures the ethical advance of Christian Gnosticism like the Valentinian, though there is mention of this (II.

87). He has so immersed himself in the details of mythological symbolism that he fails to make evident the practical value for conduct and the psychological religious satisfactions which more than any continuity with the contents of pagan imagination would explain the success of such schools as Valentine's.

Indeed, after his admirable constructive beginning Mr. Legge fails to maintain the impression of constructive insight, and the defect seems to be due to the fact that he is more familiar with the by-ways and hedges than with the main road. He is, to be sure, not dealing with the Christian Church, but it is singular to observe how often this scholar, intimate with the details of obscure sects, should be inexperienced in his references to the main current of the Christian historical process. These references are often blemishes in his work. It is amazing to read that in the gospel text "wise as serpents and harmless as doves" we have a reference to the dove and serpent as emblems associated with the Asiatic goddess worshipped under the name of Astarte or Aphrodite (II. 135), and that Paul's success in Asia Minor is due to the eagerness of converts to find a *via media* "which enabled them to reconcile the Jewish tradition, long familiar to them through spells and charms, with the legends of the Greek mysteries" (II. 85). What Paul taught is instanced by references to Döllinger and Hatch, while Neander and Duchesne release Mr. Legge from an independent control of matters of church history. Misled by an error in the English version of Harnack's *Expansion of Christianity*, he dates the fourth-century Apostolic Constitutions in the second century (II. 7). He thinks that Theodotus was a Gnostic (II. 9), that primitive bishops were "intellectual men of the world" (II. 8), and from First Clement, c. 44, leaps to the conclusion that "envy of the Episcopate was the principal sin against which the Christian writers of the sub-Apostolic age warned their readers" (II. 8). With wild exaggeration he says that the effect of the Nicene controversies was "to deluge the world with blood" (II. 23). He dates the appearance of the Fourth Gospel about 165 A. D. and the writings of Irenaeus in the third century. He thinks the passionate philanthropy of the first Christians (having all things in common) was an indifference to wealth in view of the speedy Advent (I. 162), and that a later medieval hostility to riches is due to a Manichaean text. From this Manichaean text, also, Calvin got his doctrine of eternal damnation (II. 309), and a Marcionite anticipated Luther by teaching that "those who trust in the crucified will be saved, *if only they do good works*" (II. 219)!

These illustrations are symptoms of an insecurity of understanding which impairs the value of a work of great importance.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.



BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY

*East and West through Fifteen Centuries: being a General History from B. C. 44 to A. D. 1453.* By Br.-Genl. G. F. YOUNG, C.B. Volumes I. and II. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1916. Pp. xxvi, 611; xii, 674.)

THESE two volumes cover the first seven centuries, to the death of Leo the Iconoclast in the East and of Charles Martel in the West. The author hopes to cover the remaining seven hundred years in the next two volumes. The key-note to the work may be found in the preface: "I have also avoided long accounts of civil and financial administration, as these appear to be matters rather for the student than for the general reader." Consequently the volumes must be judged from the standpoint of their fitness for the general reader, and minute criticisms would be out of place.

The first portion, concerning "the tragedy of the Caesars", is easy reading. The treatment here, as elsewhere, is mainly biographical. General Young attempts to make the reader acquainted with the character and personality of each emperor, and with this object in view gives a portrait wherever an authentic one can be obtained. He also describes, sometimes in detail, the buildings erected by each emperor and furnishes excellent views of some of the more noteworthy. The treatment is purely chronological, and consequently at times, especially in the second volume, becomes somewhat scrappy. In order "to counterbalance this, the index has been so arranged that a particular group of matters can always be studied separately when desired".

An examination of the "points" on which the author especially prides himself shows the necessity of a warning to the "general reader", that usually when these are true they are not new, and when new they are not true.

In one main point this history differs from others. It has invariably been the custom to make a division between what is called secular history and what is called Church history, separate books being written on each of these supposedly different kinds of history. . . . Moreover, religion has been at the root of three-fourths of the most important events recorded in secular history.

The first statement, with its "invariably", is an example of the exaggeration of which the author is often guilty, especially with regard to religious matters. In the section on "matters concerning religion" in the first twelve chapters, Christianity alone is discussed; the worship of Isis and of Mithras is ignored; neither title occurs in a very full index of over one hundred columns. In religious matters, too, the author always writes from the standpoint of an orthodox member of the Church of England, which "at the present day holds the same doctrines that it did at its 'Birthday in 673'". He finds, for example, that "Gregory the Great has not had justice done to him. He has been

called the founder of the Medieval Papacy when he was a greater opponent of everything which that institution represented, and of the whole basis upon which it rested, than any other man in Europe. And at the same time he has received no honour for that which is his greatest glory", *viz.*, the repudiation of the title "Universal Pope".

"Another main point on which this history differs from others has regard to the period which is to be held as the zenith of the Roman Empire. . . . Any unprejudiced examination will show that it was in the 4th century that the empire attained its zenith, and not in the 2nd." Possibly if General Young had studied the civil and financial administration more closely and had not been biassed by his zeal for Christianity, he would not have enunciated this opinion. There are eighteen "other points upon which this history either takes a different view from that usually held, or brings to notice facts seldom recognized". Of these the most interesting is "the different view from the one usually held as to the reason why the western half of the Roman Empire fell before the northern races, and as to the lesson taught thereby". He considers that the cause of the downfall was the lack of universally compulsory military service in the Empire and the fact that the cradles were not kept filled. With regard to the latter point, he says:

Any nation can do this which really tries. Liberal assistance from the State for each child born (illegitimate children included), the bearing by the State of the cost of maintaining and educating all children wherever it is necessary, and above all the strict removal of any slur upon illegitimacy on the part of the State, will always produce the desired effect if the nation is in earnest on the subject.

These remarks "were written more than a year before the war now raging in Europe began. The strong parallel to the case of England in many particulars . . . is self-evident."

The most interesting portions of the work are some of the comments on military affairs, in which the author is especially versed. Some of the comparisons of Roman and British conditions are provocative of thought, and his account of the daring deeds of the early Moslems is made more vivid from the experiences which the English have had with similar fanatics in India. Although he praises many for their military exploits, possibly the individual to whom he gives the most unstinted praise is Justinian's great general, Belisarius, whose bravery, loyalty, and skill in military tactics under the most adverse conditions he admirably describes.

DANA C. MUNRO.

*The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire: a History of the Osmanlis up to the Death of Bayezid I. (1300-1403).* By HERBERT ADAMS GIBBONS, Ph.D. (New York: The Century Company. 1916. Pp. 379.)

DR. GIBBONS breaks ground for a critical study of the early history of the Ottoman Turks, by describing in four chapters with abundant

notes and references the reigns of their first four rulers. Two appendixes discuss "traditional misconceptions". Full chronological tables are followed by extensive classified and alphabetical bibliographies and a short analytical index.

The best feature of the work is the bibliographical study, which includes in about five hundred titles Byzantine writers, translated Turkish historians, chronicles of various peoples, state papers, popular songs, and European books. Some items have been overlooked, such as Miner-betti's description of the battle of Nicopolis, Norberg's translation of Ali's shorter history, Oksza's *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman* (1871), Langmantel's critical edition of Schiltberger (1885), Novakovitch's *Srbi i Turci* with its references (1893), and Kling's *Die Schlacht bei Nikopolis* (1906).

Dr. Gibbons, desiring to present new aspects of Ottoman history, suggests interesting discussions, as, for example, whether Osman was converted from paganism to Islam, and whether the Ottoman power was not the successor of the Byzantine rather than of the Seljuk empire. Unfortunately the search for novelty appears to influence somewhat his selection and judgment of the facts. The preface, notes, and appendixes reveal a degree of self-consciousness and an interest in displaying the errors of predecessors that would be more tolerable if Dr. Gibbons were himself more exact: for instance, the text and notes 2 and 3 on page 214 contain charges of error against Wylie and Lavissee which result largely from Dr. Gibbons's own inaccuracies in note-taking; had he written LXXXV instead of 85 he would have been led to the authority, whether mistaken or not, for the affirmation that Henry IV. of England (as Earl of Derby and not "Count of Lancaster") took part in the Nicopolis expedition; and had he copied Coville's (not Lavissee's) comma after "Nicopoli", he would not have accused the French historian of locating that city on the shores of the Baltic.

A more fundamental deficiency lies in a failure to analyze and appraise the testimony of the Ottoman historians, even as thoroughly as can be done without a knowledge of their languages. Despite its late commission to writing, the Turkish tradition probably contains the fullest and most reliable evidence for "the foundation of the Ottoman Empire". Dr. Gibbons follows the precedents he deprecates in quoting mainly from Seadeddin, who wrote his compilation a century after the works of Ashik-Pasha-zadeh and Neshri. While repeatedly criticizing others for similar confusions, he has fused into one the historians Muhiyeddin (d. 1550) and Ali (d. 1599).

A number of doubtful statements are presented in positive language, even though resting only on the argument from silence: "Ertogrul, *who never saw the sea*" (p. 33); "Neither Alaeddin himself nor his predecessors had ever acknowledged the suzerainty of the house of Osman" (p. 166). Definite settlement is attempted of the standing puzzles in regard to Bayezid's cage (p. 255), and the derivations of "Stamboul"

and "Amorath-Bacquin" (pp. 199, 213). There are a few direct errors, as that John Hunyadi was the son of King Sigismund (p. 194), and that Bayezid I. was the last Ottoman ruler to marry formally (p. 183). Minor errors are the repeated use of "Monicego" and "Cuspinianus" for "Mocenigo" and "Cuspinianus", and incorrect citations, as on page 255, where ii, 92 is written for V. 96. There are some contradictions: "Bayezid, from the very beginning of his reign [1389] . . . sought alliances with the Sultan of Egypt and other Moslem rulers" (p. 182); "Neither he [Bayezid I. in 1396] nor his ancestors had ever had dealings with the Moslem princes of Asia" (p. 216, see also p. 122). The statement on page 157 (note 1) that "It was not until Murad II. that even the sovereign had a harem" is contradicted by statements on pages 160, 230, 235, 255, 256, and 257.

An insufficient preliminary study had been made of the Mohammedan religious system (see the discussion of *Kanunnamah*, pp. 72, 73) and of the growth and character of the Turkish army (pp. 76 ff., 115 ff., 218 ff.). The use of Byzantine and western historians suffers from a lack of general criticism, but is extensive and careful. On the whole, while verification is often necessary, Dr. Gibbons's book represents substantial and important work, and contains much valuable comment and construction.

ALBERT HOWE LYBYER.

*Studies in Tudor History.* By W. P. M. KENNEDY, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.  
(London: Constable and Company. 1916. Pp. x, 340.)

THE ten essays of which this book is composed fall into two very different categories. The first two and the fifth, on the Policy of Henry VII., Henry VIII. and Clement VII., and the Difficulties of Queen Mary, are little more than clear but commonplace summaries of the principal events of these reigns; they are in fact just the sort of thing that might reasonably be expected of a good senior in any of our leading universities, with the standard secondary authorities at his disposal. The remaining seven, on the other hand, are much more minute and special in their scope, and deal with various aspects of ecclesiastical life in Tudor times. The last, which is by far the most technical of all, treats of "Reservation [in the Eucharistic sense] under the Anglican Prayer-book".

In his preface the author modestly tells us that "the specialist will find little new in this volume"; and he further states that he has "not thought it necessary to burden such a book as this with foot-notes or lists of authorities", and that "the general reader must accept in good faith" his "statements of facts". For the more elementary portion of his work all this is true and justifiable enough; but Mr. Kennedy has deprived his more ambitious essays of such measure of value as they possess by refusing to tell his readers what his "sources" are. Few except serious students of the period will care to peruse these more

advanced portions of his book, and they are certain to demand at once, and quite rightly, where his information comes from. There are a number of statements scattered through his pages which will make his readers "sit up"; some on account of their naïveté, others because of their wide departures from hitherto accepted views. We cannot think, for instance, that Elizabeth's indifference to purely religious questions, and zeal for the maintenance of her prerogative have "been largely overlooked" (p. 242) in explaining her ecclesiastical policy. On the other hand our author's assertions that "it has been too frequently stated that fines for non-attendance at the new worship were not actively enforced", and that "such a position is unhistorical" (p. 188), will at once be challenged by anyone who has studied the documents at the Record Office. We look eagerly for the authority on which Mr. Kennedy rests his case; but none appears. The text indeed continues: "Evidence exists from 1561 to 1570 (and indeed we may say to the end of the reign) of a character which cannot be disputed, proving that fines for non-conformity were levied with unfailing consistency"; but if so why not tell us where to find it? Far more substantial proof than this is needed to support such sweeping statements as the above.

The book, in fact, was worth doing much better if it was worth doing at all. The author evidently has a wide acquaintance with Tudor tracts and ecclesiastical writings, and some of his ideas are distinctly interesting: more's the pity he has not taken enough pains in developing them. The whole work plainly shows the influence of Professor Pollard, to whom it is dedicated—but of Professor Pollard in his more cock-sure and over-confident mood. Certainly no one but a Maitland can afford to proclaim so much, without putting in all the evidence. Mr. Kennedy's book may profitably be utilized as an object-lesson by those who teach that it is the first duty of the student of history to learn to doubt.

ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

*A Critical Study of the Historical Method of Samuel Rawson Gardiner, with an Excursus on the Historical Conception of the Puritan Revolution from Clarendon to Gardiner.* By ROLAND G. USHER, Professor of History, Washington University. [Washington University Studies, vol. III., pt. II., no. 1.] (St. Louis: Washington University. 1915. Pp. 159.)

THIS is an interesting as well as a learned essay. Professor Usher traces the literary and historical criticism of Gardiner's work from the faultfinding with his early productions to the unquestioning acceptance and almost fulsome praise of his later volumes; he draws for us a picture, unique in its detail, of the methods of work of a typical historian; he gives us much incisive discussion of English history during the early Stuart period and much information on the views expressed by its various historians. Yet on the whole we are inclined to think his work

a monument of misdirected scholarship. Mr. Usher's real thesis is Gardiner's inconsistencies. He is able to quote from Mr. Gardiner's various works certain apparently irreconcilable estimates of the characters of James and Charles, Laud and Strafford, Cromwell and Pym. He is able to point out many instances in which a general statement does not seem to be consistent with individual statements made elsewhere. He can find numerous apparently incompatible judgments on many large questions.

Some of these contradictions seem to us to lie rather in Mr. Usher's over-refined analysis than in Mr. Gardiner's essential meaning. But our principal criticism is more fundamental. Consistency in estimating an historical character, in our opinion, should be avoided by the historian, rather than sought for. A man is not a constant but a variable factor, reacting differently to different influences and at different times, and exhibiting varied powers and inclinations under different kinds of stimulus. Paul found within him two men; Oliver Wendell Holmes expatiates on the threefold "young man named John"; and most of us are inwardly aware of quite inconsistent characteristics. King Charles or Cromwell is not a simple personality, to be classified, labelled, and characterized once for all, and Mr. Gardiner does well not to trouble himself to conform to such an improper requirement. A definite, clear-cut characterization of an historical personage should be looked upon by the reader with much suspicion. A figure so characterized belongs in the realm of fiction—and not the highest fiction—not in that of history or genuine psychology. Such a person does not exist now, and it is not likely he existed in the past. Again, Mr. Usher treats such expressions as "the mediæval constitution", "the Elizabethan constitution", "the policy of James", "Puritanism", "the discretionary power of the crown", "the English nation", and other familiar forms of historical speech as indivisible entities, concerning which two divergent statements cannot be made without inconsistency. But these conceptions are exceedingly complex. Mr. Gardiner more properly speaks of "that mass of custom and opinion . . . called the English constitution". Two seventeenth-century statesmen of quite opposite policies can both be truly described as striving to "bring back the Elizabethan constitution". That expression includes some elements that appealed to a Strafford, others to an Eliot. Much of the adverse criticism in the chapter called the Problem of Consistency, we cannot help considering perverted ingenuity. We prefer the "inconsistencies" of Mr. Gardiner to the unrealities of Mr. Usher.

Further, we do not agree with the author that it is the duty of the historian to provide the reader with political and ethical judgments, or, as he says, to decide "where lay the blame for the Civil War". We object to his dicta, "The reader should be interested in the narrative less for itself than for the generalizations which he expects it to establish. The historian who has not left his reader a clear, consistent,

unified idea of what the period means cannot be held to have discharged his trust." This is the same view as that of a critic in one of the literary journals Mr. Usher quotes so frequently, who complains that in Mr. Gardiner's writing "the reader is made to be a judge as well as a learner". But should he be blamed for this? Is it the function of the historian not only to give final judgments on the characters and careers of men but to justify or condemn great human movements? After the historian has told his story such philosophic reflections may well be left as a privilege to the reader.

It is obvious that Mr. Usher does not like Mr. Gardiner's attitude of extreme liberalism, and disapproves as heartily of many of his general results as he does of the processes which he considers do not lead to them. But it is not these differences of opinion that we condemn; nor is it the slight but annoying tone of superiority that runs through the whole work; nor is it even what we consider Mr. Usher's exaggerated view of the functions of history. It is rather the application of so much knowledge, ingenuity, and labor on the part of an excellent scholar not to some constructive and positive historical work but to the search for petty flaws in the work of a great historian. It is true that in the last two chapters of Mr. Usher's work a broader treatment is introduced and there is much bright and suggestive discussion of the influence of general ideas upon historical writers; but so far as Mr. Gardiner is concerned this amounts to little more than his depreciation in general instead of piecemeal.

*Of Reformation touching Church-Discipline in England.* By JOHN MILTON. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary by WILL TALIAFERRO HALE, Ph.D. [Yale Studies in English, vol. LIV.] (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1916. Pp. lxxxix, 224.)

THE volume before us is a very elaborate edition of a rather uninteresting prose work by a great poet. The editor divides his thesis into five main sections: (1) Introduction, (2) Text, (3) Notes, (4) Glossary, (5) Bibliography. The Introduction alone covers eighty-one pages and is subdivided into eight carefully elaborated sections entitled: (A) Authorship and Date, (B) Biographical Settings, (C) Historical Occasion, (D) Point of View, (E) Sources and Allusions, (F) Style, (G) Summary of the Argument, and (H) Text. The editor in his preface (p. iv) states his belief that the "most valuable part of this edition is . . . the notes"—a very reasonable view. Dr. Hale seems to have done his work with thoroughness and care, but we have noted a few minor inaccuracies in the type-setting. In general, too, the editor appears to have been very fair in his estimates, but when on page xviii he speaks of "Whitgift's wise . . . management", we are obliged to disagree. Few historians of any prominence to-day, we believe, would support



Dr. Hale in this statement. In addition to his well-known defects of character, Whitgift no doubt possessed certain excellencies, though it may be extremely difficult to point them out, but wisdom can hardly be said to have been one of them.

If we were to pass any criticism upon this book, it would be that too much time has been devoted to annotating a rather ordinary, though learned tract. Milton's prose, as here exemplified, is hardly to be compared with that of his more important works and especially with the writings of Chaucer, Dante, Ben Jonson, etc., such as have usually been edited by Professor Cook. There is, it is true, a vigor in Milton's attack on the bishops to be found in parts of the pamphlet before us, but hardly such scathing sarcasm as is to be found in the writings of Robert Browne, John Wilkinson, and some of the early English Separatists.

That Milton's tract here edited hardly merits the extended thesis before us seems manifest from the following sweeping statement in Dr. Hale's own words (pp. lxi-lxii). He is here chiefly speaking of Milton's prose in general, but the description may be appropriately applied to the present pamphlet in particular without doing any injustice to Dr. Hale's meaning. Says he:

Many of the sentences are interminably long. And not only are they long, but they have a broken, disjointed structure. They wind and turn, they wander off into elaborate digressions, and they lose themselves in the mazes of epithet and antithesis. The main topic is absorbed in the host of subordinate conceptions that madly rush in for expression. Syntax is thrown to the winds. Each new idea dominates the sentence during its ephemeral existence, and then, suddenly vanishing, ushers in another equally remote from the legitimate thought. The structure is left to take care of itself. The sentences resemble pontoon bridges that loosely hang together, with no integral unity or coherence, each part with a motion of its own, and the whole in constant danger of being torn asunder. . . . If they were clearly constructed, their length would still be a matter for criticism; but their loose, careless structure, together with their length, renders them hardly intelligible at a first or second reading. The pleasure we derive from reading under such circumstances does not counterbalance the strenuous effort we have to make to keep our bearings.

CHAMPLIN BURRAGE.

*England and Germany, 1740-1914.* By BERNADOTTE EVERLY SCHMITT, M.A., Ph.D. (Princeton: Princeton University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1916. Pp. ix, 524.)

THIS is one of the best books on the causes of the war. It is not, however, wholly a product of the war. For the author had already, as a former Rhodes scholar, by study in England and travel in Germany, become interested in the problem of Anglo-German rivalry and sus-

picion. He had collected a quantity of material, much of it in the nature of an analysis of public opinion in the two countries since the Boer War. He had even written a considerable part of the book before August, 1914. He writes therefore with more maturity of thought and more objectivity than many persons who have taken up their pens since the war began. In a number of instances he gives an interpretation perhaps too favorable to England, or fails to give an adequate explanation of the German point of view, but for the most part he brings his evidence fairly for both sides and that evidence supports his conclusions. Though the title suggests a treatment of Anglo-German relations since 1740, only a few pages here and there touch on their relations prior to 1848. It is with the age of Palmerston and Bismarck that he really begins.

German apologists have asserted that England was jealous of the enormous progress of German industry, commerce, and growing naval power; that, being jealous, she tried to block Germany's legitimate expansion; and that, by her combination with France and Russia, she was menacing German security. Mr. Schmitt's whole book is an examination of this assertion and dismissal of it as unwarranted. He naturally begins with an account of the growth of the British Empire, and emphasizes England's wisdom in allowing such a large measure of self-government to her colonies—in contrast to the German practice. After a good brief account of the growth of the German Empire, he analyzes the statistics of English and German industrial and commercial growth, to show that England was not being overtaken as rapidly by Germany, and that the English were not as excited and jealous as is usually assumed. Particularly in the two years preceding the war England had become more prosperous and optimistic, Germany less so.

Germany's motives in the Agadir affair are minutely examined but not made satisfactorily clear. The author seems to think it probable, although he is careful to say that the evidence does not warrant a positive conclusion, that at the opening of the Agadir crisis (July 1) Germany really aimed at a partition of Morocco and was prepared to claim her share with France and Spain. When she was convinced that England would oppose this, she gave up the partition idea and demanded very large territorial "compensations" in the French Congo in return for conceding the French protectorate in Morocco. But all through the affair she was attempting to use Morocco as a means of disrupting the Triple Entente. The Lloyd George speech of July 21 he thinks was a blunder, in that it increased enormously the bitterness of the Germans, and, by exciting the public of both countries, made the diplomatic situation so much more difficult. Perhaps it was a blunder that the speech was made at the very moment when Sir Edward Grey was asking the German ambassador as to Germany's intentions at Agadir and before the ambassador could receive a reply from Berlin. But one may wonder whether, without the speech, the German government would have finally

given (July 24) such a categorical denial of territorial designs on Morocco.

One of the best chapters, on a subject which deserves more attention in English than it has received, is that dealing with the growth of German influence in Turkey, and the Bagdad Railway. The author thinks that England did not object to Germany's economic enterprises in Turkey except when they tended to make the Ottoman government too dependent politically on Germany; but that England did fear the political designs of Germany because they seemed connected with other devious phases of German diplomacy which had to do with the balance of power in Europe and which were illustrated in connection with Algeciras and Agadir. Yet England was ready to meet Germany more than half-way in a friendly settlement of their differences in Turkey and Africa; an agreement to that effect had actually been initiated for settlement just before the war. "In July, 1914, Anglo-German relations were more cordial than they had been at any time since the Boer War" (p. 373). It is one of the most tragic features of the Great War that after England and Germany had co-operated together to preserve the peace of Europe during the Balkan Wars and were just reaching an agreement which would probably have done much to establish better mutual relations, a terrible crisis arose in which Germany gave virtually no support to Sir Edward Grey's supreme efforts for peace.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

*Les Illuminés de Bavière et la Franc-Maçonnerie Allemande.* By R. LE FORESTIER. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1914. Pp. 729.)

THE subject of the Illuminati has long wanted definitive treatment. The need arose not out of the intrinsic importance of the subject but rather that it might be rescued from the dilettante historians, who pounce with avidity on the subject of secret societies and their occult influence on historical movements. In a sober, painstaking volume of seven hundred pages M. Le Forestier has worked out the history of the rise and fall of this curious and typical eighteenth-century affiliation between German Freemasonry and the Illuminati, a Bavarian anti-clerical, rationalistic, pseudo-scientific, philosophical, and vaguely humanitarian organization. He has used the archives in Munich and Gotha, but a careful examination of text and notes indicates that in but one point did they yield important material not found in the controversial pamphlets and in the documents printed by the Bavarian government when it investigated and suppressed the society. Despite the inclusion of many pages of extracts from the ritual of the societies the author has shown considerable skill in piecing together a coherent and reasonably interesting account from these arid eighteenth-century pamphlets. The personal histories of such leaders of Illuminism as Weishaupt, Knigge, Bode, and others of less importance are so well interpolated that they serve for relief as well as information. The three

chapters on German Freemasonry in the eighteenth century based on secondary works might well have been condensed to give space for a comparative survey of currents in German intellectual life or a fuller explanation of Bavaria's political difficulties between 1778 and 1785. The concluding chapters on the legend of the society's connection with the French Revolution as embodied in such better known works as Barruel's *Memoirs*, Haller's *Restoration of Political Science*, and George Sand's *Countess of Rudolstadt* are perhaps of most interest to the general historical student. In other respects the writer's more than German fidelity to detail in many chapters makes heavy reading for any but the special student of related phases of the eighteenth century. Even this group would willingly have exempted the author from the self-imposed and thankless task of compressing into sixty pages a summary of the thousands of pages devoted by Weishaupt, the founder of the Illuminati, to his befuddled ideas on morals, education, politics, and the philosophy of secret societies.

Adam Weishaupt was a professor at the University of Ingolstadt. His education was a combination of fifteen years of training by the Jesuits and untrammelled reading of eighteenth-century rationalism in the library of his patron and godfather. Through the favor of his patron this pushing, pedantic young bookworm was rapidly advanced in academic rank. He quarrelled with his patron, and fell foul of the university authorities and his Jesuit colleagues. He sought support and satisfaction for his lust of power by forming in 1776 a secret society whose objects were "the moral perfection of man and the happiness of humanity". Its framework and its principle that the end justifies the means were a combination of what was known of the Jesuits and what was attributed to them. The chief obligations were secrecy, obedience, and study. The novitiates did prescribed reading, handed in note-books, and wrote essays in the field they elected for special study. The order sought industriously to form libraries, chiefly by stealing from other collections. Only a few close associates knew the name of the founder. All others than the original five supposed they were joining a very ancient and super-secret organization that could forward any selfish ambition that they cherished. Weishaupt was so busy writing letters, examining note-books and essays, so limited in funds, leisure, and organizing ability that he could not formulate the ritual for more than two degrees. There was a serious halt in the process of transmuting the initiates' stimulated egoism into a great humanitarian, philosophic impulse to reform the world and master the ultimate truth known only to the faithful in higher degrees not yet formulated. Although the society accepted youths of fifteen and sought industriously to interest those who had place and wealth, it had a membership of only about seventy-five two years after its foundation. The aims laid down in its ritual but thinly covered its actual hostility to clericalism and even religion. It was really a league of the friends of

free thought. It was a natural product of a youthful and academic and middle-class reaction against the bigoted and clerical régime in Bavarian politics and education at the close of the eighteenth century. It represented a phase of the struggle between the *Aufklärung* and obscurantism.

The Illuminati, however, seemed doomed to futility or extinction when, through the divided and demoralized condition of Freemasonry in Germany, there was opened up to them the possibility of grafting Illuminism on the older and much more numerous organization. Weishaupt had at first opposed Masonry but finally joined, hoping he might get some ideas for the formulation of his own higher degrees. Other Illuminati were already members or joined and the new order was well on the way to the conquest of one of the three weak lodges in Munich when they won a powerful recruit in Baron Knigge, a North German courtier, statesman, writer, man of the world, and a discontented Freemason. Knigge had a talent for organization and negotiation. After having forced Weishaupt to confess that he was bankrupt in ability to devise new degrees or vital activities for the Illuminati, Knigge practically took over the direction of that society. He formed an alliance with eclectic Masonry and created by fusion Illuminated Freemasonry. At its apogee in 1782-1784 the Illuminati, as founded by Weishaupt, had perhaps 650 members. Estimates of a membership of 2500 are exaggerations even if one include the lodges of Illuminated Freemasons in Austria, Bavaria, the Rhine Valley, Lower Saxony, and the Saxon duchies. The roll of distinguished members of Illuminated Freemasonry, even if some were indifferent, includes Goethe, Herder, Pestalozzi, Bode, Montgelas, Dalberg, the elder Metternich, Stadion, Kolowrat, Cobenzl, and the dukes of Brunswick, Saxe-Gotha, and Saxe-Weimar. Active efforts to enlist Schiller, Nicolai, and Lavater failed.

Knigge and Weishaupt quarrelled just at the height of the fusion organization. The Ingolstadt professor triumphed and Knigge withdrew. The author having followed somewhat uncritically Knigge's own account of his dominance and activities gives no adequate explanation of this unexpected result. The triumph was a brief one for the days of tribulation were at hand. The Elector Karl Theodor, aroused by his confessor, the ex-Jesuit, Father Franck, and by the Dowager Electress, Maria Anna, abolished secret societies in Bavaria in June, 1784. Illuminated Freemasonry apparently yielded but hoped to weather the storm. A second decree and the ensuing investigations in 1785 and 1786 gave the death blow to Illuminism, ten years after its foundation.

Weishaupt, who had seen the gathering storm, improvised an excuse for early flight by the easy expedient of a quarrel in faculty meeting with the librarian at Ingolstadt for not ordering books he desired for his classes. The faculty, strange to say, sided with the librarian, but the faculty were chiefly ex-Jesuits and the book was Bayle's dictionary. Weishaupt ultimately became a pensioner of the Duke of Saxe-Gotha. The illegal and fanatical prosecution of his followers by the Bavarian

government would have allowed him to play the martyr with more grace if letters seized by the police had not shown him conniving at abortion in the case of his dead wife's sister. Weishaupt died in 1830 having spent a broken old age in a futile effort to justify himself. The only concession from Bavaria was the education of his sons for the army, a small pension after 1808, and non-resident membership in the Munich Academy. These favors came by the grace of his former disciple, Montgelas, now the chief minister of the Elector Max Joseph.

Illuminism or rather Illuminated Freemasonry was born without a clear, practicable purpose. It committed suicide through the tendency of its younger and more radical members to boast of power and to talk too loudly of religion and politics in a land as unprogressive and obscurant as Bavaria at the close of the eighteenth century. It seemingly laid itself open to the charge of having chosen the wrong side, the Austrian, in the Austro-Prussian struggle over the Bavarian succession between 1778 and 1785. It is this latter point as an explanation of the Dowager Electress's hostility that the archival material makes clearer.

One other point, although not ignored, could have been made clearer by M. Le Forestier. It is the opposition between the Illuminati and the Rosicrucians. Wöllner and the Rosicrucians who embodied the mystical, vaguely religious, and somewhat orthodox tendency of the eighteenth century were hostile to Illuminism, which was more nearly allied with the century's rationalistic, anti-clerical, anti-religious, and French philosophic tendencies.

GUY STANTON FORD.

*Modern Germany and her Historians.* By ANTOINE GUILLAND, Professor of History, École Polytechnique Suisse. (New York: McBride, Nast, and Company. 1915. Pp. 360.)

THE European War has had some strange and unexpected by-products, which at least have the merit of being bloodless. One of these has been the undertaking of a translation of Treitschke's *History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century*, a more purely parochial and super-partizan history than even that of Froude. On the other hand no publisher, as far as I am aware, has thought of bringing out a translation of the immeasurably more scientific and scholarly *History of Europe* by Stern, which would be most gratefully received by the judicious. However, we shall take what is given to us, with whatever emotion is appropriate to the individual gift. In the case of Guilland's book on the historians of modern Germany the emotion is entirely pleasurable. This work was first published in 1899, long before the fumes of perfervid patriotism arose to distort perspective in criticism. It ought to be read by every teacher or writer of history and pondered precept upon precept and line upon line, so full of warning is it as to the pitfalls that lie in wait for the historical student and the dangers that compass him about and



which have engulfed several notable persons in ways here liberally set forth.

Guilland studies at length five of the historians of modern Germany, Niebuhr, Ranke, Mommsen, Sybel, and Treitschke and touches upon some of the others, like Droysen and Häusser. He describes the conditions under which the five historians labored and appraises their works according to their scientific value, their literary character, and their political importance. He is impartial in his judgments, substantiating praise and blame by good and sufficient reasons. He has an admirable literary sense and gives us discriminating and sometimes very penetrating analyses of the merits of his authors as stylists and artists. But the chief content of the book, by far its most significant and useful feature, is his treatment of the relations between the historical writings and the politics of Germany, the contribution of German, and particularly of Prussian, historians to the making of the German Empire, their share in the work of unification. His treatment of this theme is instructive and impressive. From Ranke, the most objective and dispassionate of historians, to Treitschke, the most subjective and passionate, is a far cry. It is interesting to trace the steps in the process of deterioration, a deterioration that is not obscured by the brilliancy and glow of Treitschke's literary art. Ranke's first service was, as Gooch has said, "to divorce the study of the past from the passions of the present, and to relate what actually occurred". Treitschke, on the other hand, avows in the preface of the fifth volume of his *History* that history should be written "regardless (*rücksichtslos*) with anger and passion" and he says in one of his letters: "To be called an impartial historian is a reputation for which I have no aspirations; to ask that of me is impossible. . . . That anaemic objectivity, moreover, is surely contrary to true historical sense." There he is, caught in the one unpardonable sin for the historian, and glorying in it! In comparison with that, all other offenses possible for him are venial. Emphatically progress does not lie that way for history, either as a science or as an art.

For a long while, says Guilland, "we have regarded the Germans as the most impartial of historians. We were mistaken. Their learning deceived us." However magnificent the work of investigation, however vast the erudition, these can be vitiated and largely nullified with the greatest ease by the intrusion of partizanship, personal predilections and aversions, temerarious theories of class, racial, national superiorities, confident generalizations as to the psychologies of peoples. The merit of Guilland's book is that where the author finds these elements in the literature he is discussing he calls them by their right names. His study of Sybel, which should be read in full, may be cited in evidence. Sybel spent twenty years on his French Revolution, making unwearied researches in the archives of Paris, London, Brussels, the Hague, and Berlin, and he produced five volumes incorporating this material. But he incorporated a great deal else that was merely personal to himself,



that did not inhere in the documents, and he wrote with an avowed political purpose, namely the extinction of the maleficent "French ideas" of 1789 among his countrymen. The result was only a transient and local success as an historian.

Prussian historiography, under Droysen, Sybel, and Treitschke, tended to become Prussian hagiography, a very different thing. As the tendencies illustrated by these writers are besetting sins not in Prussia alone it is well for the members of the craft everywhere to take to heart the lesson of this book.

It is to be regretted that the publishers, in giving us this translation of Guiland, have omitted his valuable bibliography. They might have given us that or, better still, a completer one, indicating the contributions of the past fifteen years to the subject.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

*Sei Anni e Due Mesi della Mia Vita: Memorie e Documenti Inediti.*

Per EDUARDO FABBRI. A cura di NAZZARENO TROVANELLI.  
(Rome: C. A. Bontempelli. 1915. Pp. cxcviii, 544.)

EDUARDO FABBRI of Cesena (born 1778, died 1853) was one of the representative men of his epoch and country, an epoch of conspiracy and of struggle for constitutional government, in a country where liberal aspirations and freedom of speech were relentlessly suffocated under the despotism of the temporal power of the pope and the sempiternal menace of foreign intervention from that indefatigable champion of absolutism in Europe—Austria. The political figure of Fabbri in the times of Pio VII. has been heretofore left almost completely in obscurity by historians of the Risorgimento. It was perhaps neither surprising nor of consequence that a hasty writer such as Bolton King in his *History of Italian Unity* should not refer to Fabbri's activities as one of the most influential political conspirators against papal government in the Romagne, or to his subsequent long years of imprisonment—although contemporary papal police authorities had characterized him as "director and dominator" of the secret political societies of his day; but it has been manifestly unjust that in an Italian work of repute, such as Enrico Poggi's *Storia d'Italia, 1814-1846*, Fabbri should not be mentioned. It is true that a man's place in history depends much upon his posthumous luck in finding an able, conscientious, and painstaking biographer; and some men attempt to forestall the capricious errors of historical fate by writing their own memoirs—but if they leave them for posthumous publication, as did Fabbri, even though their recollections be wise and pleasing, much again must depend upon the fortuitous action of heirs and editors. Fabbri, who was a man of letters as well as a political figure, has received his just place in the history of *literature* in Guido Mazzoni's authoritative *Otto Cento*, but his personal memoirs, which are biographically and politically his most important work, *Sei*

*Anni e Due Mesi della Mia Vita*, are not even mentioned by Mazzoni, nor has their existence become generally known until quite recently.

But if Fabbri has waited long for his posthumous fame, he could hardly have desired better fortune than has finally come to him in the person of Nazzareno Trovanelli as his editor and biographer. Trovanelli belongs to that modern school of Italian historians of the last thirty years, of which the Risorgimento period of history has given so many devoted adherents—men of severe historical method and sterling honesty of historical purpose, endowed with the maximum zeal for research and the minimum of personal and party prejudice, modest in their work and free from the haste that inevitably accompanies greed of gain in authorship. Luigi Chiala and Alessandro d'Ancona were among the most distinguished earlier representatives of this school—they have been followed by Vittorio Fiorini, Alessandro Luzio, Luigi Rava, Francesco Ruffini, Mario Menghini, and many others of equally conspicuous ability and sound historical method. Trovanelli is a lesser light in this group; his previous Risorgimento publications have been distinguished rather for their quality than for their bulk, and they have been principally of local interest, as his *Cesena dal 1796 al 1859* (vol. I., Cesena, 1906); but it is precisely his local knowledge which has made Trovanelli an ideal editor of the Fabbri memoirs. He was himself for many years keeper of the Archivio Storico Notarile di Cesena, and his previous historical work had familiarized him with the material in several other archives; furthermore he has been able to examine and use freely the records of the famous Rivarola trial, in which by one sentence about five hundred subjects of the pope were condemned as political offenders, including Fabbri, who received a life term of imprisonment. The records of this trial were long considered as irreparably lost, and when at length their existence in the R. Archivio di Stato in Rome became known, they were jealously withheld from historians. Trovanelli has been the first who has been allowed to see them, and he has published in the second appendix to the present volume the complete reports of Fabbri's own depositions preserved in the records of the great trial.

The volume is arranged so as to constitute a complete biography of Fabbri. His *Sei Anni e Due Mesi*, 1825–1831, occupy the body of the work and are followed by the depositions just mentioned, and by an uncompleted account of the revolution of 1831 also by him; Trovanelli has prefixed an introduction giving in two hundred pages Fabbri's life down to 1825, and has appended supplementary chapters continuing his life from 1831 to 1853; furthermore Trovanelli has greatly added to the value of Fabbri's text by furnishing numerous critical and explanatory notes.

Fabbri, who had been convicted as a *carbonaro* and an instigator of rebellion, wrote his memoirs confessedly (p. 270) to prove his own innocence and to clear his honor. The purpose of their composition and the

length of time that elapsed between the occurrence of the first events narrated, and their narration—the manuscript bears the date of 1838—might lead one to suspect the trustworthiness of the memoirs. On the contrary, wherever it is possible to test in them the accuracy of Fabbri's statements, one finds him truthful. The appended depositions are of particular value in these tests; whatever in the memoirs he claims to have deposed in the course of his judicial examinations, we find here substantiated, being faithfully recorded in these reports of his inquisitors now for the first time published. And *vice versa*, the memoirs, by this same comparison, prove that the papal inquisitors did not garble the depositions of their prisoners. But the depositions themselves must of course be used with much caution, as in them the prisoner naturally sought to save himself before his judges.

The memoirs are of the first importance as evidence upon contemporary conditions in the Papal States, upon papal methods of administering justice, upon the secret societies of the Romagna, etc. It is noteworthy that the inquisitors, and even Cardinal Rivarola himself, refused to confront Fabbri with any of those who had borne false witness against him (pp. 32, 35, 49) and refused to call witnesses in his favor whom he requested (pp. 35–36). One of the important revelations of the volume is the fact that the proposed revolution in the Romagna of 1820 was planned to precede, not to follow, those of Naples and Turin (pp. 343–344). Trovanelli's description of the organization of the secret societies (pp. clx ff.) is excellent. But his attempts to defend some of the imprisoned conspirators—notably Maroncelli—from charges of having betrayed their companions (pp. 26, clxxvii) are not successful.

As a personal defense, Fabbri's memoirs may be said to be convincing with regard to his not having belonged to secret societies subsequently to 1815, but in judging him by his own testimony one must conclude that the papal government was right in suspecting him to have been an instigator of rebellion—although it lacked the evidence sufficient to convict him honestly and legally. Fabbri exhibits notable fair-mindedness in his appreciation of Cardinal Rivarola (p. 96), who is represented here as much less of a fiend than history has hitherto depicted him. The depositions printed by Trovanelli from the trial which bears the cardinal's name, emphasize the necessity for the historian that its entire records be speedily opened to the student. A comparison between its evidence and that of the Lombard trials would be of great importance. Trovanelli's surmise is probably correct, that of this trial there was never printed the usual official summary because in the evidence brought out in the trial the Tuscan minister, Fossombroni, was implicated in intrigues to overthrow the pope's temporal power in the north, in order to obtain the annexation of the Romagna to Tuscany.

Numerous typographical errors mar the volume; they are probably due to Trovanelli's lamented death, which occurred while the sheets were passing through the press.

H. NELSON GAY.

*A History of the Third French Republic.* By C. H. C. WRIGHT, Professor of the French Language and Literature, Harvard University. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1916. Pp. 206.)

THIS volume is a history of the Third Republic from its proclamation to the outbreak of the present war. There is a preliminary chapter on the antecedents of the Franco-Prussian War, followed by an account of that war itself. This is one of those books which it is much easier to read than to write. For the author of a brief book on an important subject must meet and solve many formidable and refractory problems. His analytical power and his power of presentation are tested with a severity and a peremptoriness they would not have to encounter in the same degree if displayed on a more liberal scale. For it is essential in such a narrative to present the complex simply and at the same time leave in the reader's mind the sense of complexity. Only thus is a faithful impression of the reality produced. How to combine condensation with the suggestion of spaciousness, how to unite interest with proper proportion, how to keep the main stream of development unobstructed and yet at the same time to reveal the existence of numerous tributaries, each with an individuality of its own, how to use broad strokes and yet produce the requisite shading, these are the questions that confront the author of a compendious history. To condense, to condense still more, and always to condense, this is the first commandment, and the others are like unto it. Yet life and movement must not be sacrificed, for history is the record of the quick, not of the dead.

The author of this volume has shown his possession of the qualities requisite for this type of writing. It is difficult to see how a book of this scope could be more instructive, more readable, or more impartial. The author shows clearly the various stages of the republic's progress from conservatism to an increasing radicalism. He is not bewildered by the multiplicity of rapidly shifting ministries but he perceives and indicates the significance of the tendencies and achievements of the most important of them, and of some that, at first blush, seem of little importance. While he does not enter into the minutiae of party development he enables us to understand what the successive cleavages meant. He gives us excellent and discriminating summaries of such episodes as the Commune, the making of a republican constitution by a monarchical assembly, the Panama, Boulanger, and Dreyfus affairs, the colonial expansion, the struggles of Church and State, the recent growth of pacifism, synchronous with the rise of socialism. He paints a series of interesting and lifelike portraits, necessarily miniatures, of Gambetta, Thiers, Chambord, MacMahon, Grévy, Ferry, Carnot, Casimir-Périer, Faure, Waldeck-Rousseau, Combes, Clemenceau, and Briand. He makes clear the causes and the process of the rise of the Dual Alliance.

Speaking of the present conflict Professor Wright says:

So far as the outbreak of the war in 1914 is concerned, France stands with a clear conscience. She had nothing to do with the disputes between Austria and Serbia, or between Austria, Germany, and Russia. Once war proved inevitable France faithfully accepted the responsibilities of the Russian alliance. Against France, Germany was an open aggressor. Germany's strategic plans for the quick annihilation of France, before attacking Russia, are well known to the world. Everybody is aware how scrupulously France avoided every hostile measure, and, during the critical days preceding the war, withdrew all troops ten kilometres from the frontier to prevent a clash. The Germans were obliged, in order to justify their advance, to invent preposterous tales of bombs dropped by aeroplanes near Nuremberg or of the violation of Belgian neutrality by French officers in automobiles. France had no idea of invading Belgium. All the French strategic plans aimed at the protection of the direct frontier, and they were dislocated by the dishonest move of Germany through Belgium.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

*The German Empire between Two Wars: a Study of the Political and Social Development of the Nation between 1871 and 1914.*

By ROBERT HERNDON FIFE, JR., Professor in Wesleyan University. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. xiv, 400.)

PROFESSOR FIFE'S *The German Empire between Two Wars* owes its title, but little else, to the outbreak of the present European conflagration. The book was conceived in times of peace, and in its chapters the war receives only incidental mention. Much that is said, however, is given special point by the events of the past two years and by the situation in which the empire, as a belligerent nation, now finds itself.

The author's purpose has been to subject to close scrutiny the external and internal history of Germany since 1871, with a view to ascertaining the reasons for the contrast between "the progress of the nation along economic lines and its arrest in political and social development". That such a contrast exists, and that it has aroused speculation in many minds, is an indubitable fact. In the earlier portions of Mr. Fife's book one, however, gets a somewhat exaggerated impression of the magnitude of this disparity. For, after all, economic growth and social progress are inextricably bound up together, and there has been in Germany an arrest of, at the most, only certain aspects of social development; while even the political situation has undergone substantial alteration, notwithstanding the insignificance of structural changes. In fairness it must be said that in the body of his book Mr. Fife corrects his too dogmatic prefatory statements in this connection.

The volume falls into four parts. In the first there is a review of the empire's foreign relations during forty-three years, together with a characterization of the nation's ambitions abroad as they have developed

in recent times under the influence of population growth, industrial expansion, and international competition for markets. German diplomacy is characterized as, in general, vacillating and inferior to the diplomacy of other states, and the German masses are affirmed to be measurably responsible for the sabre-rattling and the bumptiousness which have impaired the favor with which the German name is regarded. But it is maintained that the inferiority of the German periodical press and the limited use in other countries of the German language have usually prevented the German side of international controversies from being properly presented to the world; and it is conceded that, in view of the populational and industrial conditions that have arisen in the empire, the determination to acquire sea-power, colonies, naval posts—in short, the much-talked-of “place in the sun”—has been natural, inevitable, and justifiable. In view of the decline of the birth-rate, the almost complete cessation of emigration, the phenomenally rapid growth of German foreign trade in the past two decades, and the large room left for development on existing lines, the empire's necessity seems to the reviewer less compelling than it is represented by the author to have been.

The second part of the volume is devoted to government and parties; the third to a group of contemporary national problems, *i. e.*, the Proletarian in Politics, the Church in Politics, the Administration of Alsace-Lorraine, and the Polish Question; and the fourth to Transformations and Tendencies, in municipal affairs, in education, and in public opinion as affected by the press. The book is one of no slight merit. It is not, and it does not purport to be, a treatise abounding in hitherto unknown facts or in novel interpretations. The threads which the author follows wind through familiar fields. None the less, the essentials of later German development are somewhat fully and very accurately described, in a style which, without being conspicuous, is fresh, vigorous, and acceptable. And it should be added that certain chapters, *e. g.*, those devoted to the Polish question and the issues of State and Church in the schools, comprise perhaps the best brief discussions of the subjects of which they treat to be had in English. Statistics are presented very sparingly, and there are practically no citations of authorities. Since the book is designed to engage the interest of the general reader, these aspects of it are perhaps justifiable. But space should have been found for a selected bibliography.

FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG.

*The Diplomacy of the Great War.* By ARTHUR BULLARD. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. xiv, 344.)

THIS interesting and suggestive volume is described in the preface as an attempt to provide an introductory text-book for a “first-year course in European diplomacy”. The author claims for it the “same relation to a treatise on diplomacy that a high school ‘algebra’ has to a text-book in ‘celestial mechanics’”.

The reviewer, however, has not found *The Diplomacy of the Great War* particularly useful even as an auxiliary text for the class room. For this purpose he greatly prefers Gibbons's *New Map of Europe*, which contains a more coherent body of facts couched in narrative form and illustrated by a more intimate knowledge of events.

The book is divided into four parts. The first book attempts to give the historical background of the war in eight chapters. Instead of beginning with the treaty of Frankfort or the year 1870 (as he should), the author opens with the Congress of Berlin (1878) about which he tells us some interesting things, but fails to indicate what was really accomplished there. He then leads us through the Europe of Bismarck and the Resurrection of France to the formation of the Entente Cordiale, the Algeciras Crisis, and Eight Years of Tension preceding the Fatal Year.

These chapters contain much keen and incisive observation and reveal considerable knowledge and even insight. The chapter on *Das Deutschthum* may aid us in understanding that marvellous quality of the contemporary German mind which apparently consists, ideally speaking, in knowing everything and understanding nothing.

In his account of affairs Moroccan, Mr. Bullard unfortunately follows Mrel—a mere disaffected political pamphleteer—too closely and confidingly. One would think that our present difficulties in Mexico might enable an American to appreciate more sympathetically the task of the French in Morocco.

Book II., on the New Elements of Diplomacy, contains four good chapters on the Rights of Nations, Dollar Diplomacy, the Colonial World, and the Growth of Public Opinion. On all these topics there are bright and suggestive comments which whet the reader's appetite for more, but leave a sense of inadequacy of treatment.

Book III., on the Liquidation of this War, includes interesting chapters on the Military Outcome, Diplomatic Tactics, Division of the Spoils, the Fate of Turkey, etc., which are frankly hypothetical or tentative. From the text-book standpoint we should willingly exchange these speculations for more solid information.

Book IV., on the United States and Europe, contains much needed discussions of our National Policy, National Defense, etc. In these chapters the author exhibits himself as a somewhat naïve, timid, and provincial American with the customary illusions, prejudices, and limitations of Pan-Americanism.

The volume contains a critical bibliography which shows that Mr. Bullard has read widely and deeply on the causes of the war. The value of this bibliography is somewhat lessened by the failure, in most cases, to mention the time and place of publication. From the academic and pedagogic points of view, the value of the book as a whole is somewhat vitiated by the failure, in many instances, to give precise and definite information. For example, in his brief account of the Fashoda affair



(on pp. 47-48), the author fails to mention the date, and merely speaks of Fashoda as a "little mud village" on the Nile.

If Mr. Bullard has failed to produce a satisfactory text-book (his mode of treatment being much too subjective or impressionistic), he has succeeded in writing a very entertaining and stimulative volume. In the main he seems to have succeeded in his effort to be impartial. Though he confesses to a very definite "fondness for France", he leans backward rather than forward in his treatment of Moroccan affairs. If there is any failure of impartiality it is in his dealing with things British; against that nation he at times appears to harbor a secret grudge or antipathy. This may be because of his somewhat provincial Americanism, or it is perhaps because he has made too much use of Clapp's *Economic Aspects of the War*—a very biased statement of the diplomatic controversy between the United States and Great Britain during the first year of the war.

The pro-German will doubtless say that Mr. Bullard shows an anti-German bias, but his finding that the outbreak of the war was due to an unsuccessful bluff for prestige on Germany's part is in accord with the views of most unbiased neutral observers. On the basis of pro-German admissions and the evidence before us, he could hardly have come to any other conclusion. The jury which renders a verdict of guilty of murder in the first degree need not answer to a charge of bias.

AMOS S. HERSHEY.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*Storia degli Stati Uniti dell' America del Nord (1492-1914)*. Per VITO GARRETTO. (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli. 1916. Pp. xix, 505.)

THIS book is intended for the Italian public, not primarily for the Italian in this country. It is in many ways a pioneer venture. The author knows of but six previous accounts of our history in Italian, two of them translations. The only Italian work, aside from some studies of the explorers, which has deserved notice in this country, has been the admirable study of the Revolution by Botta. Yet interest in the United States is widespread among Italians of all classes. Those who have connections among immigrants are numerous, and others have exhibited a lively curiosity as to our political and educational systems, the position of women, inventions, Indians, and other unusual features of our life. The author has appreciated this interest, and has shared in it. He believes that Italian readers can best be initiated into American history by an Italian, and he has deliberately and carefully prepared himself for the task. He has visited America, and he has read broadly in American historical literature and sources. His choice of historical works, which is shown by a bibliography and voluminous notes, is not particularly discriminating, but at least includes representative books of all classes. Of sources, he has wisely taken those that

illustrate the spirit of the nation, rather than such as would enable him to make detailed contributions on particular points.

From this preparation he has evolved, not indeed an interpretive work such as Bryce did for us, or Bodley for France, but at least a thoroughly digested story of American development, very far above the patchwork quilts which many, even of our own writers, spread to catch the patriotic dollar. There are, of course, many crass errors which even the unintelligent American would avoid, as that Buchanan favored the slave-trade, that the Thirteenth Amendment was illegally adopted, and the like. The author confuses the compromises of 1820 and 1850, invents a treaty provision with England in 1850, and the typesetter frequently uses *w* for *v*; it would be better for those of his Italian readers who may read further on the United States had he used American terms rather than the Italian equivalent, as House of Representatives instead of *Camera dei Deputati*. Yet the outlines are soundly in place, and if we look to grasp and maturity of judgment, the book deserves to rank well with the best of our one-volume histories.

It offers to the Italian of to-day a story of which Americans need not be ashamed. While there is criticism, there is none of that patronizing aloofness which characterizes most English and recent German works. The author is frankly puzzled by certain subtleties of American intellect and interests. He cannot understand how one so fervently attached as Stonewall Jackson to the religion of the loving prophet of Nazareth could fail to discern the iniquity of the slavery cause, nor how a Confederacy founded to defend slavery could prohibit the slave-trade. He is violently anti-slavery, but seems free from party or sectional bias. His account of Reconstruction is a good example of a detachment which does not prevent sympathy. The proportion of space given to the period extending to the end of the Revolution is greater than that which Americans now give to it, and this means that many phases of our life which seem to us to be of interest are neglected. In fact, the period from the Revolution to the Civil War is scantily treated, but the narrative at that point regains its vigor, which it retains to the end, the middle of the Wilson administration. Naturally certain points interesting to Italians are emphasized, particularly the offer of a major-generalship to Garibaldi. The discussion of Italian immigration reveals deep feeling, especially in its demonstration of the part the Irish have played in American life.

Particularly interesting to Americans is the closing chapter on the American intellect. The author finds this preponderantly Anglo-Saxon, with an independent development from the time of Elizabeth. He discusses jurisprudence, theology and religion, literature and art. Of science he says that it has been practical, that if the Americans had never existed, science would have progressed equally, but humanity would not have had all the machines it possesses. The most important characteristic of American life he finds to be the loving and careful devotion

which Americans give to educational problems. Although he calls attention to the fact that American scholastic emblems depict a youth, not with a book in his hand, but in gymnastic costume, he nevertheless concludes that a nation which is so solicitous for the education of its sons, and those of its guests, has before it a glorious future.

The style is simple and direct, and the shortness of space has not led to absence of color. Particularly good are the characterizations of men, which are both lively and sensible.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

*Spanish Mission Churches of New Mexico.* By L. BRADFORD PRINCE, President of the Historical Society of New Mexico. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press. 1915. Pp. 373.)

GOVERNOR PRINCE'S book deals with a section of the United States whose recorded history commences with the year 1539, when Fray Marcos of Niza visited and took possession of the country for the Spanish crown. Subsequent expeditions to the close of the sixteenth century came in fairly rapid succession, and all had more or less in view the dual object of conquest by cross and sword. Thus was Christianization of the southwestern natives begun by Franciscans nearly seven decades before the founding of Jamestown; hence, in being the scene of practically continuous missionary activity for almost four centuries, New Mexico is unique in the annals of the religious history of the United States.

At the outset the author summarizes the history of the Franciscan missions of California and that of the early exploration and colonization of New Mexico, with the resultant missions founded in the latter province. A chapter is devoted to the general history of missionary labors in New Mexico, which were definitely commenced when Coronado left the country in 1542, and another chapter to the Pueblo Indian rebellion of 1680, which resulted in the destruction of the mission and the murder or flight of all the Spanish friars, followed by the conquest twelve years later and the rebuilding of the churches chiefly on other sites.

The churches of Santa Fé are first considered *in extenso*, beginning with that of San Francisco, which superseded an insignificant chapel during the custodianship of Benavides, who went to New Mexico in 1622, not 1626 as the author states (p. 73). This adobe church, which was practically destroyed by the Indians in 1680 and rebuilt in 1713-1714, still exists as a part of the present cathedral. The oldest church in Santa Fé, however, is that of San Miguel, built evidently at the time of the founding of the town by Oñate in 1605. It likewise was partly destroyed by the Pueblo Indians in their great revolt, but was restored by Governor Vargas in 1693-1694, and in 1710 was rebuilt. Other churches in Santa Fé dating back at least a century—of which there were eight, including three family chapels—are adequately described

and illustrated. Indeed, sixty-seven pages of the book are devoted to the more or less ancient ecclesiastical edifices of Santa Fé alone.

In this brief review we cannot follow the author in his summary of the history of the various missions established among the Pueblo tribes, as he describes each of twenty-three churches that still exist or which existed during the early period of the Franciscan labors. More modern than some of these are the Spanish churches at Santa Cruz (founded 1695), Albuquerque (1706), and Chimayó (1816), to each of which a chapter is given. The final pages are appropriately devoted to a brief account of the Penitentes, a survival of the Third Order of Saint Francis, now happily less active than formerly, owing to discouragement by the Catholic Church.

Altogether, Governor Prince's *Spanish Churches of New Mexico* is a welcome addition to the recent better books pertaining to the history of New Mexico. By drawing on many of the best sources the author has avoided practically all the pitfalls of various earlier writers on the subject of missionary labors in the Southwest, and although the book is avowedly popular it will afford adequate information on one of the most interesting phases of the early history of our country.

In treating a subject in which the liability to err is so great, it would be surprising were we not able to point to a few blemishes. By far the chief sin of omission is the lack of an index, while a list of the chief works on the subject would likewise have been useful. On pages 79, 80, 350, we find Gerónimo de la Llama for Llana. The location of the Capilla Castrense on the "west" side of the plaza at Santa Fé (p. 127) is a slip for the *southern* side. Although Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón manifested great zeal among various Pueblo Indians, there is no evidence that he was "appointed head" of the Franciscan labors in New Mexico as stated on page 183. It is hardly proper to speak of the San Diego church at the Jemez pueblo of Gyúsiwa as *the* Jemez mission (pp. 180, 183), as there were at least three missions among these Indians; and it is misleading to say that Sandia is the only pueblo besides Laguna "that has been established since the arrival of the Spaniards" (p. 187; cf. p. 189), as many other pueblos were abandoned or destroyed during the revolt and subsequently re-established on other sites. The author confuses Ácoma (Acus) and Hawikuh (Ahacus) on page 217. Silva Nieto did not accompany Letrado to Zuñi in 1629 (pp. 230-231), as may be learned by consulting the two *Relaciones* of Perea; and Letrado was killed not in 1630, but in 1632. San Juan is not "Caypa" pueblo (p. 283) but Ohke, while "Caypa" (Kah-po) is Santa Clara as mentioned on page 292. Pecos was not abandoned in 1840 (pp. 324, 328, 330), but two years earlier. The Tewa and Piro groups of tribes (pp. 335-336) are confused.

However, all these are more or less minor points. In the main the author has handled his subject well.

F. W. HODGE.

*Scandinavian Immigrants in New York, 1630-1674.* With Appendices on Scandinavians in Mexico and South America, 1532-1640; Scandinavians in Canada, 1619-1620; some Scandinavians in New York in the Eighteenth Century; German Immigrants in New York, 1630-1674. By JOHN O. EVJEN, Ph.D., Professor of Church History, Augsburg Theological Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn. (Minneapolis: K. C. Holter Publishing Company. 1916. Pp. xxiv, 438.)

THIS is a contribution to the history of early immigration into the state of New York in the form of biographical articles on Scandinavian men and women who settled on Manhattan and in the Hudson valley prior to the final passing of the province of New Netherland under British control. The articles are alphabetically arranged in three separate groups and contain the names of fifty-seven Norwegians, ninety-seven Danes, and thirty-four Swedes; they are based on a careful study of printed primary sources and in spite of certain omissions may be said to give an adequate account of Scandinavian immigration into New Netherland outside of the distinctly Swedish colony on the Delaware River. Following the articles there is a "Retrospect", in which the author sums up the chief characteristics of the Scandinavian immigrants and indicates the part that may be attributed to them in shaping the early history of the state, especial emphasis being laid on the ready assimilation of the Scandinavians with the Dutch, their law-abiding character, their democratic tendencies, and their spirit of religious toleration. Both the biographies and the "Retrospect" make an impressive showing, which is likely to come as a surprise to those who have been accustomed to think of the population of New Netherland as being almost exclusively Dutch. In taking account of the total number of immigrants included in the biographies, it should be noted however that this number comprises not merely heads of families, but different members of the same families, and that not a few immigrants have been listed whose Scandinavian origin is open to doubt. Among these may be mentioned the names of Bent Bagge, Jan Pietersen Haring, Jacob Eldersen, and Teuntje Jeuriaens Slaghboom. Bagge is included among the Norwegians on account of his name, which Professor Evjen says was likely "Bakke". Judging however from his given name, which in the records is invariably written "Bent" (not "Bert" as printed by mistake in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, XIII. 374, or "Bernt" as Professor Evjen spells it), he was probably a Frisian, unless, as seems not unlikely from the similarity of signatures and other facts, he must be identified with Benjamin, or "Bent" Roberts, and consequently held to be an Englishman. Jan Pietersen Haring is called a Dane, because "Haring is in Denmark", regardless of the fact that the settler's entire name is typically Dutch. Again, Jacob Eldersen from Lübeck is said to have been probably a Dane, for no other apparent reason than that "Danes

are numerous" at Lübeck, while Teuntje Slaghboom is regarded as "probably Danish", because her first husband, Jonas Bronck, was a Dane and because the syllables "Slag" and "bom" occur in Danish proper names. On this slender basis, the author devotes to Teuntje two pages of biography and even adds an account of her second husband, Arent van Curler, illustrated with facsimiles of his signature and an extract from the *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts*. This tendency to enlarge on matters which at best are only remotely related to the Scandinavian immigrants is also evident in other places, as on page 259, where in connection with the marriage of Marritje Pieters to Jan Jacobsen of Vrelandt, the author inserts the text and a facsimile of a contract concerning her supposed brother-in-law Cornelis Jacobsen of Mertensdyk, although it is by no means certain that this colonist was the same person as her real brother-in-law, Cornelis Jacobsen of Vrelandt, alias Stille.

It may further be said that while the author assures us that he has "endeavored to leave no stone unturned in order to obtain all the facts possible relative to the history of the immigrants", a number of doubtful points might have been settled by reference to unprinted sources of New York history, among others, that Volckert Jansen [Douw] came from Friedrichstadt in Schleswig-Holstein, and not from Fredrikstad in Norway, as shown by his commission as lieutenant, dated November 1, 1667, in which he is called "van Stapelholme". It is also to be regretted that the author, with his unusual qualifications for the task, has made no attempt to trace more thoroughly the underlying causes of the Scandinavian emigration to this country, or at least, by means of a chronological arrangement, to indicate the general current of that emigration.

Aside from these limitations, the biographies are full and satisfactory, the only important omissions among the names being those of Jan Thomassen from Wittbek and Casper Jacobsen from Hollenbek. Of the minor errors that have been noticed, suffice it to point out here that the book entitled Schultetus, *Dominicalia*, given among Bronck's library on page 175, is not a medical work by "a celebrated surgeon at Ulm", but a devotional work, probably by Abraham Schultetus; also, that "Crietgen Christians", on page 184, is a mistake for "Grietgen Christiaens", and consequently refers to a woman, who has nothing to do with Christiaen Christiaensen; also, that "Rachel Vynen", on page 293, refers undoubtedly to Rachel Vigne, and not to a woman from the island of Fyen, or Fünen, Denmark; that Jacob Jansen Stoll, mentioned on page 261, was certainly not the son of Jan Jacobsen of Vrelandt, or Stille; and that Zürichsee, Switzerland, on page 431, is a mistake for Ziericksee, province of Zeeland, Netherlands.

As regards the appendixes, which are mentioned in the title, little need be said. The first contains a brief account of four explorers who came to Mexico and South America; the second relates to the expedition of Captain Jens Munk to discover the "Northwest passage" to China;

the third contains a list of Scandinavian immigrants in New York in the eighteenth century, and the fourth a similar list of German immigrants between 1630 and 1674, which is useful but incomplete. The book is profusely illustrated with facsimiles of documents and contemporary views of Scandinavian cities, but most of them are poorly executed.

A. J. F. VAN LAER.

*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1704-1705*, preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited by CECIL HEADLAM, M.A. (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1916. Pp. xl, 807.)

A SPECIAL interest attaches itself to this volume of the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, because it is the first to be issued under the revised plan for the series adopted two or three years ago. At that time it was understood that all entries from the Board of Trade Journal and from the proceedings of colonial assemblies would be omitted and that all warrants and other formal records would be entered only by title. The volume before us shows that this plan has been duly carried out, and that thereby space enough has been gained to include the documents of two years without material loss to the student. Important papers, such as letters, petitions, instructions, representations, and the like still continue to be printed either in full or in abstract, though the absence of quotation marks renders it difficult at times to distinguish the character of the entry. Announcement is made that the Journal of the Board of Trade, a body which Mr. Headlam persists in calling the "Council of Trade", contrary to the practice of the board itself, "is now being issued as a separate publication", and we know that this publication is to begin with the year 1704, though eventually the earlier portions will be added.

Among the more than fifteen hundred items here listed, not counting the enclosures, there are several score that might well be made the subjects for extended comment. The period was one during which the authorities in England were feeling their way, under many difficulties of war and otherwise, toward a fairly definite policy of colonial management. Among the most important sections of the volume are those that exhibit the opinions of the Board of Trade and the crown lawyers upon colonial rights under the charters, upon matters of general colonial regulation, and upon the laws passed by the colonial legislatures. As early as 1705 the claim is put forward in New York that the assemblies in the colonies had all the privileges, powers, and authorities of the House of Commons, to which Cornbury replied, as did the Board of Trade fifty years later, that the holding of assemblies was "purely by the grace and favor of the Crown" and that the claim of privileges was an encroachment on the royal prerogative. Thus very early appears



this fundamental distinction between the colonial and the British points of view.

Other questions deserving examination concern naval stores, rights of appeal, illegal trade, habeas corpus, packet boats, the troubles of Jeronimy Clifford, the Mohegan and Quaker cases in Connecticut, the disallowance of the admiralty law in Rhode Island, Mason's claims in New Hampshire, the position of the Lower Counties in Pennsylvania, Penn's proposed sale of his province, the Newfoundland fishery and the establishment of justice in that island, the four-councillors quarrel in Barbadoes, the coinage proclamation of 1704 and the difficulties attending its enforcement in the colonies, and the famous conflict between Nicholson and Blair in Virginia, in which the former came off second best and the "Extra Twedians" or "Caledonians", as Nicholson called the Scotsmen, won one of many victories in their struggle to obtain standing and influence in the colonies. Of wider importance are the many problems raised by the war with France and Spain, the need of military defense by sea and by land, the difficulty of obtaining colonial co-operation, and the attitude and efficiency (or inefficiency) of the British admiralty and ordnance departments. Behind all is the general poverty, ignorance, and distress, political animosity and factiousness, and the widespread habit of fault-finding and complaint that characterized the period, and was due to the conditions of frontier life, the effects of the late insurrections, the quarrels with the proprietors, and the depressing influence of piracy, privateering, and war.

Mr. Headlam has been very successful in meeting the many difficult problems of calendaring that have arisen and his entries seem to be admirably done. In common with his predecessor he is apparently unaware that large numbers of documents from the Public Record Office have been printed in America elsewhere than in the New York collection, a series which for many years has been the only one officially recognized. An exception to this appears in the case of Gershom Bulkley's *Will and Doom*, the printing of which is mentioned in the preface, but the discovery was made too late to correct "Gresham" to "Gershom" in the body of the work. An illustration of the point is to be seen in the case of Penn's Charter of Liberties of 1701, which is here given verbatim, although it is one of our standard documents and has been printed a score of times. Mr. Headlam's statement that "to do some for him" is a phrase that might be taken for a "modern Americanism" is neither witty nor true and only betrays the persistence of a British habit; it might be met by the query whether the word "streighten" which Mr. Headlam uses in his preface is a misspelling or a modern Britishism. Among the curious words found in Nicholson's letters, the editor might have noted the extraordinary "Hypercondroicall".

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

*Travels in the American Colonies.* Edited under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America by NEWTON D. MERENESS. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. vi, 693.)

THIS collection of travels, gathered from various repositories in England, France, and America, is composed of eighteen narratives, hitherto unpublished, of journeys made in colonial America from 1690 to 1780. Nine describe expeditions or missions among the Indians, three treat of the frontier, three of the back country, and three of the settled regions of the coast. But one concerns the West Indies, and that only in part. Taken as a whole, the narratives cover the territory east of the Mississippi, extending from the Great Lakes to the Gulf, and a diligent reading of them gives a vivid and detailed picture of colonial life and its environment, through nearly a century of time. I do not know of any single series of texts that makes so lavish a contribution to our knowledge of the personal and social side of colonial history, as do these narratives. They have a unique value to the scholar, and though a perusal of them is no task for a summer afternoon, some of them are certain to interest the general reader.

The first narrative, Potter's journal of a trip from Virginia to New England in 1690, is chiefly important as containing a Virginian's impressions of the Boston Puritans. D'Artaguiette's journal (1722-1723) records a tour up the Mississippi to the Illinois Country and back. The journals of Colonel Chicken (1726) and Captain Fitch (1726), and that of David Taitt (1772) deal with the Cherokees and Creeks respectively, and are invaluable as accounts of Indian negotiations and descriptions of Indian life and customs, and throw light at every point on the fur-trade. The report of Oglethorpe's ranger (1739-1742) has to do with an Indian assembly on the Chattahoochee and with campaigns against the Spaniards. Bonnefoy's narrative (1741-1742) describes the writer's captivity among the Cherokees and is presented with great charm of style, though perhaps some allowance should be made for the fact that we are reading the work in translation. Bonnefoy's account of the "Kingdom of Paradise" deserves a place among the famous Utopiäs. De Beauchamp's journal of life among the Choctaws (1746) is scarcely inferior to that of Bonnefoy. Stevens's journey to Canada (1752) is not specially important, but Lord Adam Gordon's narrative (1764-1765) of his long trip through the West Indies, the continental colonies, and Canada is a document of rare worth and significance.

Three of the narratives contain a record of Moravian travel from Pennsylvania to North Carolina and back, one, the earlier (1752), by the upper route through the Shenandoah, the others (1780) by the lower route east of the Blue Ridge. Hamburg's fragment (1763) concerns Detroit and the Lakes. Berkenhout's mission (1778), though hardly a "travel", covering only a trip from New York to Philadelphia and back,

is interesting as a British view of American affairs at a critical time. The last two of the series, Fleming's journals (1779-1780), recording two trips into central and northern Kentucky, deal with the earliest Kentucky settlements and present a sombre picture of cold, sickness, and frequent massacres. Fleming is one of the few writers who makes observations on the flora and fauna, meteorology, and geology of the region through which he passes. Every narrative, without exception, where the subject is mentioned, bears witness to the ruinous state of the British forts in America.

Dr. Mereness has done his work well, and has solved many difficult problems of identification. His annotations, however, seem to me somewhat uneven and capricious. The reader is not likely to have trouble with such abbreviations as "complt agt", here carefully extended, but is likely to be puzzled by "tabby work", "punchins", "schaw", "scoope", "half Goona's", and the like, which are not explained at all. The identification of Lord Adam Gordon could have been made more than "fairly complete" by reference to the *Georgia Gazette* of July 12, 1764, where the ship, the *Polly*, in which Gordon sailed to Antigua, is mentioned with Gordon on board. One or two minor points may be mentioned. Enfield is in Connecticut not Massachusetts. I doubt if Lord Fairfax's estate comprised anything like one-fourth of Virginia, and its location was in northwestern Virginia between the headwaters of the Rappahannock and the Potomac. Is Dr. Mereness quite certain that the act mentioned on page 405 is the Stamp Act? I should be inclined to consider it the Sugar Act.

The one thing that every one using this book will miss is a map. It almost seems as if one large folding map might have been contrived so as to show all the routes. But probably something of the kind was considered by the promoters of this volume, and rejected as impracticable.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

*Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives.* By ALBERT B. FAUST, Professor of German, Cornell University. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1916. Pp. x, 299.)

THIS book is of the utmost value for students of American history. Its origin is due to the Carnegie Institution of Washington, under whose auspices Professor Faust of Cornell University spent six months in the year 1913, investigating the archives of German Switzerland and Austria for all materials which relate to American history. The archives of the French cantons of Switzerland were examined and are described by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, editor of the *Papers of the Department of Historical Research* published by the Carnegie Institution. The above work has been done in an exceedingly thorough and satisfactory manner and a whole field of sources of American history has now been made accessible.

The materials discovered by the authors are discussed under the three heads of Emigration, Diplomatic Correspondence, and Trade Relations. The relations between Austria and America were practically nil before the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, with the single exception of the well-known settlement of the Salzburgers in Georgia in 1734. Hence it naturally follows that by far the most valuable part of the book is that devoted to Switzerland. The subject of Swiss emigration to America, in early colonial times, is practically unknown, even to many students of history; and it is time that this element of our people should receive its due recognition in all discussion of American origins. And here comes in the peculiar value of Dr. Faust's book. The materials therein found extend from the beginning of the eighteenth century down to the present. As in the case of Austria, the information given under the head of most of the Swiss cantons practically begins with the nineteenth century. This is not true, however, of the cantons of Basel, Zürich, and Bern, in regard to which, especially the two latter, we find a wealth of materials which throw new light on certain aspects of our colonial history. In the case of Bern, Dr. Faust describes a large number of documents which relate to the well-known Swiss colony founded in 1710 by Christopher de Graffenried in New Bern, N. C.,<sup>1</sup> and the equally important settlements in Pennsylvania, especially that in Lancaster County, Pa., from its first settlement in 1710 by Swiss Anabaptists, down to the end of the eighteenth century. It is to be regretted that Dr. Faust did not visit the town of Langau in the Emmenthal Valley, canton of Bern, from which most of these early settlers of Lancaster came. It is likewise a matter of surprise that nowhere does he mention the book of Pastor Ernst Müller of Langnau, *Die Bernischen Täufer*, which gives a detailed discussion of all the causes that led up to this first settlement in Lancaster County.

Equally important are the documents discovered by Dr. Faust in the various archives of Zürich, which shares with Bern the honor of having furnished the largest contingent of Swiss emigrants to Pennsylvania in the early decades of the eighteenth century. Many well-known Americans trace their origin to these early Swiss emigrants, such as the Landis, Frick, Hershey, and other families.

Perhaps the most important document described by Dr. Faust is that containing a complete list of emigrants to Carolina and Pennsylvania from every district of the canton of Zürich from 1734 to 1744, a period of the greatest migration to America. As Dr. Faust well says this list is invaluable for genealogical purposes and should by all means be pub-

<sup>1</sup> The story of this colony is told in the so-called Graffenried Manuscripts, a full account of which is given by Mr. Faust in the *German-American Annals*, n.s., vol. XI. (1913). Of the manuscripts themselves, B. and C. are published for the first time in the original languages, in the *German-American Annals*, n.s., vols. XI. and XII.

lished entire. Steps are now being taken to have this done and it is hoped that before long this list will be accessible to all.

OSCAR KUHN.

*Jeffrey Amherst: a Biography.* By LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO.  
(New York and London: Longmans, Green, and Company.  
1916. Pp. 344.)

NATURALLY this volume deals mainly with Amherst's military career, for in no other field did he play a conspicuous part. Whatever claim he may have had to military distinction was derived from his leadership in America during the Seven Years' War, and his contribution to the success of that important event seems to have been overrated by his contemporaries.

During the War of the Austrian Succession he had served with distinction as aid-de-camp to General Ligonier, and to the Duke of Cumberland. Consequently, when William Pitt sought, in 1758, to inject more vigor into the campaign against the French in America, his attention was directed to Colonel Amherst by General Ligonier. Pitt recalled Amherst from the Continent and appointed him major-general of the forces in America. In his new field of action he proved himself, according to Fortescue's *History of the British Army*, "the greatest military administrator produced by England since the death of Marlborough, and he remained the greatest until the rise of Wellington".

Mr. Mayo quotes with approval this unstinted praise, but his portrayal of Amherst's achievements in America gives one quite a different impression of the general's qualifications. In planning campaigns he displayed considerable ability, but in executing them he was frequently a hindrance rather than a help. He was painfully elaborate in his preparations, and spent weeks in brewing spruce beer, as a health-giving elixir for his troops, with the same solemn gravity that he planned military strategy. British success, in most instances, was due either to the weakness of the enemy or to the initiative and bold execution of such men as Wolfe and Forbes. But Amherst was hailed as the conqueror of the French, and he was made a Knight of the Bath by his grateful sovereign.

After the fall of Canada the general would fain have left America, for, as he wrote to a friend, "I will then rather hold a plough at Riverhead, than take here all that can be given to me". But the uprising under Pontiac, due in a great measure to Sir Jeffrey's own Indian policy, delayed the general's homeward journey until the autumn of 1763. His loathing for America led him to decline a resident governorship of New York, but he accepted with alacrity a sinecure governorship of Virginia which yielded £1500 per annum.

After his return to England, Amherst devoted himself to the enjoyment of laurels already won. He accepted, without hesitation, military promotions, landed estates, and a peerage, but he usually failed to re-

spond when the king most needed his assistance. When, in 1768, he was directed to proceed to his post in Virginia so that he might aid in solving the difficulties which resulted from the attempt to tax the colonies, he surrendered his office rather than comply with the order. During the Revolution he refused to command the British army in America, although on two occasions the king personally requested him to do so. However, his advice on military affairs was greatly valued, and for it he was rewarded with a peerage. When France declared war against England in 1793 he was made commander-in-chief, and his good judgment contributed materially to a better military organization. In a word, it may be said that while he served his country well, his country served him better.

While the author has made the most of Amherst's abilities and valuable services, he has, on the other hand, made no attempt to conceal the general's shortcomings. The volume is well written and entertaining, but it does not contribute much to our knowledge of Amherst or to the history of the period covered. A more careful examination of colonial records would have improved the part which treats of the general's dealings with the colonists. The book will be valued most by the casual reader.

E. I. McCORMAC.

[*Appendix to*] *an Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America, for the Years 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760.* By Captain JOHN KNOX. Edited with introduction, appendix, and index by ARTHUR G. DOUGHTY. Volume III. [Publications of the Champlain Society, vol. X.] (Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1916. Pp. xii, 587, viii.)

THIS third volume completes Dr. Doughty's edition of Knox's *Historical Journal*. It contains a miscellany of papers, maps, and illustrations, relative to the Conquest of Canada; a List of Works Consulted, being an admirable bibliography of manuscripts, printed material, and maps; and a full index to the three volumes. The first ninety-five pages of the book give the Journals of General Amherst and of his brother Col. William Amherst. The latter was sent home with despatches after the fall of Ticonderoga, in lieu of Col. Roger Townshend, younger brother of Wolfe's brigadier, who was killed by a cannon-ball a day before the French evacuated the fort, and a monument to whom stands in the nave of Westminster Abbey.

Following these journals, and forming an interesting supplement to General Amherst's diary of the operations which ended in the taking of Louisbourg, are "Two Letters from a French Officer of the Garrison of Louisbourg", reprinted from the *London Magazine* of 1760. They give an account of the siege from the inside, such as is given for the earlier siege of 1745, in the "Lettre d'un Habitant de Louisbourg", translated and edited by Professor George M. Wrong. It is most instructive

to compare the two accounts, bearing in mind that in 1758, with the exception of five hundred rangers, all the besieging forces on land and sea were regulars; whereas in 1745, all the land forces were provincials, while the royal navy contributed the sailors. The *Habitant* in 1745 contrasts the admiral and the general very much to the advantage of the former, and complains of the conduct of the troops after the capitulation; whereas the French officer in 1758 writes in the most eulogistic terms of both Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst, noting the harmony which existed between them, and he has no praise too high for the treatment accorded to the garrison and citizens of Louisbourg by the English, although "they had not forgot the extraordinary barbarities and cruelties which we had suffered the savages to practise upon them, after the taking of Oswego, and Fort Henry-William". Evidently, as might be expected, the French under the old régime felt more antipathy to the democratic fighting men of the British colonies than to the regular sailors and soldiers from England, bred up on more or less similar lines to their own.

Another high tribute to the English from a Frenchman is given by the Abbé Desencaves, a loyalist Acadian priest, an account of whom, with a translation of a letter from him, written to a French minister in March, 1759, forms no. XXV. of the documents in this volume. "It is a beautiful sight to see English noblemen in North America going to face all the terrors, hardships and even dangers of roads and weather, sacrificing their pleasure and their interests for the service of their prince and their country." The good priest had deserved well of the British government, and—to quote Dr. Doughty's note—"it seems incredible that the English should have neglected a man who rendered them such signal service".

Amherst's Journals, with other evidence, give the impression of a man of high administrative capacity, a good leader of a mixed army, who managed the provincial soldiers with firmness and tact, giving praise when praise was due, *e. g.*, "They are excellent Ax-men . . . and the zeal and activity of their colonels is of the greatest assistance in forwarding the works". The slowness of his movements was no doubt largely due to "the State of the colonies in raising their troops, and sending them to their rendezvous". Still Sir William Johnson's Private Diary (no. X. of the documents) tends to confirm the view that, being over-cautious, Amherst lost time himself and allowed his subordinates to lose it. General Murray is represented in the volume by two letters and by his Journal after the relief of Quebec. His letter to Pitt of October 7, 1760, illustrates how entirely Pitt was the lodestar and the standby of the men who were serving their country faithfully and well across the seas. "Paper cannot blush", he writes, "and as I am a soldier of fortune without a friend, nay hardly an acquaintance at Court, I do not know to whom I can so properly apply for protection as yourself." With the manuscript of Murray's Journal Dr. Doughty



acquired and gives us in print, an Address or General Order from Wolfe to his Army after the Heights of Abraham had been surmounted but before battle was joined. It ends prophetically "Believe me, my friends, if your conquest could be bought with the blood of your General, he would most cheerfully resign a life which he has long devoted to his country." There is not space to comment upon the other documents, but the whole volume is of the greatest interest; and the three volumes taken together form a splendid work, worthy alike of the Champlain Society and of Dr. Doughty's high reputation.

C. P. LUCAS.

*The New Régime, 1765-1767.* Edited with an Introduction and Notes by CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD, University of Illinois, and CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER, Miami University. [Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. XI, British Series, vol. II.] (Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State Historical Library, 1916. Pp. xxviii, 700.)

THIS is the second volume of a series of which the first volume is *The Critical Period*, noticed in the April, 1916, issue of the *Review*. It is made up of documents and excerpts from documents relating to the period from February 28, 1765, to July 15, 1767. The subjects with which the documents are mainly concerned are the taking possession by the British of the Illinois Country; descriptions of the country and characterizations of the people; the relations of the British to the inhabitants, French and Indian; and the projects for the exploitation of the territory.

The documents of greatest interest are George Croghan's Journal (February 28-October 8, 1765), which has been several times printed, but seemingly with less critical accuracy than here; the *procès verbal* of the delivery of Fort Chartres (October 10, 1765), which includes a description of the fort and its appurtenances; letters of Stirling to Gage (October 18, 1765, December 15, 1765); Aubry's letter to the French minister (January 27, 1766), from which it appears that the fixing of the capital of Spanish Illinois at St. Louis resulted from the choice of St. Ange and not from the order of his superior officer; Fraser's letter to Haldimand (May 4, 1766); the papers of General Lyman regarding the settlement of a colony on the Mississippi; Capt. Henry Gordon's Journal of a voyage from Fort Pitt to Pensacola by way of the Illinois (May-December, 1766); Memorial of Traders in behalf of Free Trade with the Indians (September, 1766), with which it is interesting to compare the letter from Gage to Conway, page 339 (July, 1766), and the Petition of the Merchants of St. Louis, January, 1769 (Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, I. 37); and letter of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan to Irwin (September, 1766) relating to the navigation of the Ohio.

The story told by these and the accompanying documents is not a creditable one. The French had been living in the Illinois Country,

which they had found to be "a terrestrial paradise", for nearly three-quarters of a century. The paradise was not without the trail of the serpent, but the inhabitants lived peaceable and fairly well-ordered lives. The treaty of 1763 changed all this.

It was provided in that treaty that the French inhabitants might at any time within eighteen months sell their property and retire from the country. The country was left for France to take care of for more than eighteen months pending the transfer, during which time the inhabitants could find neither purchasers nor money, yet when the British did come in after the expiration of the time, the commanding officer at first refused any extension; which meant that if any inhabitant wished to leave he must abandon his property; but finally a provisional extension to March following was granted. In the meantime, all those who could get away transported their movables across the Mississippi under cover of darkness, which the British officers thought very reprehensible, and said that it was "done chiefly to distress us and increase our difficulty in maintaining the country". For those who remained no civil government was provided.

Captain Stirling, who was vested with no civil authority, found it necessary to appoint a judge, from whose decisions he would himself entertain appeals. To fill the office of judge he designated a bankrupt named Lagrange, but there is nothing to show that he performed the duties of the office, except Stirling's statement that he was wanting in knowledge of law.

The Indians, whose good-will it was so important to secure, were as little considered as the French. Captain Stirling was sent to them without the customary presents, without the provisions necessary for their entertainment, and even without an interpreter. The previous failure of Pontiac to achieve success at Detroit was the one thing which prevented the destruction of Stirling and his men. And during the whole period the British practically "got nowhere". It was not a régime; it was a muddle. What progress was made in later years will be shown in the succeeding volumes.

The book is well arranged and well edited. What is printed about Lagrange and his creditors should have been supplemented by the inclusion of the decision of the Superior Council at New Orleans in the matter, which decision is in the St. Louis archives. Morgan's journal of his voyage down the Mississippi was printed in the report of the Eighth International Geographical Congress, 1904. The date of the voyage is there given as 1767; here as 1766. Which is correct?

WALTER B. DOUGLAS.

*The Federal Executive.* By JOHN PHILIP HILL. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1916. Pp. viii, 269.)

THIS work, we are informed, has been in process of construction since 1903. Its purpose "is to add a little to the studies on the subject

and to assist in an understanding of the creation, development, organization, and functions of the Federal Executive". Rather less than half of the book is concerned with the history of the ten departments and with reflections on about twenty of our presidents. The remaining portion is an attempt to set forth certain features of the administrative machinery for the purpose of revealing its modes of operation to-day. Here and there Mr. Hill has touched the sources of his theme. Showing some familiarity with the sources, he gives, on the other hand, little evidence of such industry, patience, and care for details as would permit him to write freely and understandingly of the historic aspects of the subject. For many of his conclusions he has searched the writings of a small number of careful students of government; but to these students he has not always given due credit.

On the historical side the reader will look in vain for any careful and well-sustained consideration of the office of the President. The author remarks that the framers of the Constitution "did not dream" that the President "would be the one man in the nation primarily responsible to the people for the enactment into laws of their will" (p. 9). To indicate how this modern ideal of responsibility has come about would be worthy of a long chapter, always recalling the fact that Madison and an influential following in 1787-1789 meant that the President should be responsible to the people for the execution of the laws. Casual reflections on some of our presidents and their policies from Washington to Wilson are, it is true, to be found. But it is startling to be informed that Jefferson took "no steps . . . toward the increase of the executive power" (p. 201); to find classed together as Federalists Presidents Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams (pp. 204, 206, 207); to have the old charge revived that Jackson's heads of departments were "no more than executive clerks" (p. 208); and to hear that President Wilson, following "the practice in cabinet meetings of having each department represented", summons to these meetings, in the absence of a Secretary, "an assistant secretary or other designated official" (p. 47). To the question of admitting cabinet officers to seats in Congress—a question which, according to Mr. Hill, "has never been seriously agitated" (p. 217)—slight attention has been paid (pp. 45-47); notwithstanding the very extensive literature on the subject which has accumulated chiefly since 1864. On the subject of salaries of cabinet officers there occurs a very misleading passage (p. 74); and not a word anywhere to indicate what salaries have been paid our presidents.

On the side of administration, Mr. Hill, guiding himself by the language of the preamble to the Constitution, has conceived the ten departments as dividing themselves into the four following divisions: (i) State, Treasury, and Interior Departments as making for a "more perfect union"; (ii) Departments of War, of Navy, and of Justice as "insuring domestic tranquillity"; (iii) Departments of Agriculture, of Commerce, and of Labor as "promoting the general welfare"; and

(iv) the Post-Office Department as insuring "the blessings of liberty". When he confines himself to simple exposition of function, the writer has given information that may be useful. To say that "the Treasury Department and the Department of Justice are the only two departments that have divided the United States into districts for the practical purpose of administration" (p. 89) is to mislead. Strictly speaking, there has never been in our history a "bureau" of Agriculture (p. 105). The building in Washington occupied by the Bureau of Pensions is not devoted "exclusively" to pensions, nor is the decorative frieze on the building placed "under the eaves" or made of "plaster" (p. 119). The Washington city post-office is built of granite, not "marble" (p. 182).

To the scholar this volume is of no importance. It is likely to mislead less well-informed readers. On both the historical and administrative sides it is shallow.

HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

*History and Procedure of the House of Representatives.* By DE-ALVA STANWOOD ALEXANDER, A.M., LL.D. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1916. Pp. xv, 435.)

MR. ALEXANDER'S book is a welcome addition to the as yet rather small list of thorough and first-hand studies of American government and administration. Owing its origin in part, we are told, to a friendly suggestion of Thomas B. Reed, the work shows not only careful use of the various series of Congressional debates and of Hinds's monumental *Precedents*, but also a practical appreciation of details of parliamentary procedure for which Mr. Alexander's fourteen years of service as a member of the House have afforded invaluable training. With the exception of documentary references, foot-notes are not numerous, but such citations as there are, as well as the text itself, show use of such special studies as Follett's *Speaker* and of a number of important books of reminiscence. Particularly commendable are the absence of partizanship or special pleading, and the entire avoidance of any attempt to tell, under the guise of a history of the organization and procedure of the House, the political or constitutional history of the United States.

The eighteen chapters into which the book is divided cover all the main aspects of the constitution and procedure of the House: the apportionment and qualifications of members, the preparation of the roll of members elect, the organization of the House, the functions of the Speaker, the appointment and work of committees, the quorum and the rules, the order of business and the conduct of debate, contested elections, procedure in impeachments, and the relations between the House and the President. Chapter VII., on floor leaders, and chapter XIII., on the Committee of the Whole, are especially rich in information not readily obtainable elsewhere; while chapter XVIII., on the President and the House, is a broad as well as a detailed treatment of constitutional and formal relations which have developed greatly in recent years,

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and which from the time of Washington have been of increasing significance.

Any account of parliamentary procedure in the House will of necessity give much space to the functions and policy of the Speaker, and of all the Speakers none has aroused more discussion or provoked more antagonism than Reed. It is a tribute to Mr. Alexander's impartiality that, with all his long and intimate friendship for Reed, he does not exaggerate the contribution which the "Czar" made to the theory and practice of American parliamentary law, or gloss over the obvious inconsistency between Reed's early defense of the "disappearing quorum" as "a valuable privilege" of the minority in restraining, by "this extraordinary mode of proceeding", the "madness and party feeling" of the majority, and his later masterful elimination of the same "valuable privilege" when he himself occupied the Speaker's chair. What the author does, rather, in this connection, besides telling the story, is to make clear the nature and aim of Reed's leadership, his "profound regard for the dignity and importance" of the office, his belief that the Speaker is chosen "not simply to preside over the deliberations of his fellow members, but to carry out party pledges and round up a successful legislative session", and his matured conviction, albeit one which involved a complete change of front on his own part, that "the protection of the minority did not mean the destruction of the majority". If any adverse criticism is to be made of Mr. Alexander's handling of this phase of the subject, it is that the more recent policy of Speaker Cannon and the revolt of the House against it are not treated with commensurate fullness.

What might easily have been a dry story is given a refreshing measure of human interest by the numerous brief character sketches of prominent members of the House with which the narrative is studded. For those of members in the decade before the Civil War Mr. Alexander acknowledges special indebtedness to Galusha A. Grow, speaker from 1861 to 1863, and a colleague of the author from 1897 to 1903; and, for those in the decade 1840-1850, to Alexander H. Stephens, through William P. Frye. It was indeed one of Time's curious changes that brought about a close friendship between a stalwart Republican like Frye and the former vice-president of the Confederate States, and placed both of them on the committee which prepared the revision of the House rules adopted in 1880.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

*The Great Revival in the West, 1797-1805.* By CATHARINE C. CLEVELAND. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1916. Pp. xii, 215.)

WHAT is commonly known as the Kentucky revival is here presented for the first time in clear and consistent form. The book is well arranged in five chapters—the Religious Condition of the West prior to

1800; the Leaders of the Revival; its Spread; Phenomena; and Results. The first chapter is historically the most interesting, since it is difficult to account for such an eruption of emotionalism as that which visited our frontiers between 1797 and 1805. Semple's *American History and its Geographic Conditions* furnishes an initial clue to the problem. A rugged country such as that of the Blue Ridge and Cumberland Valley attracts an adventurous and imaginative class of settlers. The loneliness of the life and the sense of human weakness in the face of untamed nature predisposes to a fear of the supernatural. Besides the objective environment there was a subjective tradition to affect these "Puritans of the South". The terrors of Calvinism—total depravity and reprobation, hell-fire and eternal punishment—were commonly dwelt upon by itinerant sectarians. After the Revolution the easy-going Anglicanism had disappeared, but Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism, Saddle-Bag Methodism, and Close-Communion Baptist doctrines spread through the backwoods. This is made visible by ingenious local maps of the various presbyteries, circuits, and associations in this wild region.

Given these conditions, outward and inward, together with the restlessness due to the constant shifting of newcomers, and the lawlessness of descendants of criminal and convict emigrants, who sought refuge in "Rogues' Harbor" and "Satan's Stronghold", and we have the preconditions for a widespread and simultaneous outbreak of revivalism. To such tinder the religious leaders now set the spark. And the notion that religious emotion must be expressed in some unmistakable manner gave rise to a feverish excitement. This explains the insistent demands for bodily "exercises", as an outward sign of inward grace. But tremblings, fallings, convulsions, and what came to be known as the Kentucky "jerks", did not appeal to sedate and "formal" religionists. The old "professors" opposed shouters and exhorters "driving people distracted". Yet the excitement spread. With Logan County as a focus there was a sort of religious seismic disturbance which spread as far as the Mississippi and the territory north of the Ohio River. The Western Reserve was little affected by the tremors. The author reports the saying that "New England people", meaning Massachusetts and Connecticut people, "would never become subject to the falling", but this clue is not followed up.

While a dramatic recital of events is given, the prologue is omitted. There are certain remoter preconditions which throw light on this subterranean subject. Mention is made of the Great Awakening of 1734, but the significance of that movement in relation to this is missed. The reason for a certain reserve in those of the Western Reserve was that their immediate ancestors had experienced the fires of "enthusiasm". To use the language of a previous generation they were "cold" men because of the excesses of the "hot" men. The bitter controversy set forth in George Whitefield's *Journal* and Charles Chauncy's *Seasonable Thoughts* was one not only between the men of reason and the men of

feeling, but also one between the gentry and the commonalty. This explains the aversion of New England settlers against having their Western Reserve become another "burnt-over district". It likewise explains the friction further south between "the quality" and the "poor whites", as implied in the constant references among the ranters to deists and rationalists, "genteel" people and the "silk and satin" group.

Thus the author misses the significance of the rationalism of that day. The deist is defined as the denier of dogmatic Christianity. That is too negative. The deist positively prided himself as being a representative of the age of reason, and as able to explain away the supernatural. So there should be added to the bibliography certain naturalistic interpreters of a century ago. Such were Dr. Benjamin Rush of the "Zoöomic" School in his *Influence of Physical Causes upon the Moral Faculty*, James Fishback in his *Philosophy of Mind in Respect to Religion*, and various writers in the *United States, Columbian, and Philadelphia Magazines* upon the excesses of enthusiasm, religious melancholy, and the connection between camp-meetings and illegitimacy.

This sinister side of revivalism is neglected in the chapter on Results, while that on the Phenomena, psychologically considered, is quite inadequate. Some foreign authorities, like Carpenter and Maudsley, are antiquated. Other, native, writers are omitted. Such are Leuba, Starbuck, and especially Cutten, who identifies the revival counties and lynching counties of Kentucky.

WOODBIDGE RILEY.

*The Writings of John Quincy Adams.* Edited by WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD. Volume VI., 1816-1819. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. xxvii, 573.)

WHEN Adams made up his mind to accept the post of Secretary of State in President Monroe's cabinet, he took what was in many respects the most important step in his career. The appointment was not unexpected, for intimations had come from one source or another that he was likely to be the choice of the new President. A man of more buoyant ambition and more eager vision would have been elated at the distinction and the prospect which it opened. Adams took this, like all his honors, with cold sobriety, with much searching of heart, and with a deep sense of personal obligation. How far he allowed himself to peer into the future his letters do not reveal. He might have reflected that the office had been in two instances a stepping-stone to the presidency, but there is no evidence that he indulged in dreams of further preferment.

It is no exaggeration to say that Adams assumed his portfolio with more ample equipment than any secretary before or after him. That he had the making of a great minister of foreign affairs, this volume of letters makes clear beyond a peradventure. He brought to his task a nationalism not less deep, though less ardent, than Clay's, an unrivalled



knowledge of European courts, and an intellect more highly trained by education and travel than that of any man then in American public life. By his long sojourn in foreign lands, Adams had freed himself from a narrow sectionalism though he never succeeded in throwing off his New England heritage. He never forgot that he was the son of John Adams and custodian of his father's achievements. He never lost sight of the New England fisheries. Yet, on the whole, he was right when he wrote, "The longer I live the stronger I find my national feelings grow upon me, and the less of my affections are compassed by partial localities. My system of politics more and more inclines to strengthen the union and its government." He rose superior to his compeers in his ability to appreciate the culture of other lands and other people. His unstinted praise of English institutions comes as a distinct surprise in this sheaf of letters written by one who had been a good hater of our late foe. Finally, his temperament went far to make him one of the greatest of our secretaries of state. A cold, incisive intellect, which cut to the heart of diplomatic questions, a clear-sighted vision of the end to be gained, and indefatigable persistence in choice of means, were qualities that made him more than a match for the trained diplomats of Europe.

Adams took office at a time when all these qualities were laid under requisition. He fortified himself for his duties by assiduous study. He spent from four to six hours a day at his office desk, as much more in study. He was not content to leave to subordinates the preparation of state papers. The force of his diplomatic notes came from his absolute mastery of pertinent facts and historical precedents. Notwithstanding this assiduity, he found time to keep in touch by letter with our diplomatic representatives abroad. To a *chargé d'affaires* at Stockholm he wrote,

Write me everything that you can learn about the affairs and interests of Sweden, not only in their direct relations with the United States, but with every part of Europe and with all the rest of the world. . . . Turn in a word all your sagacity, all your activity, and all your ingenuity, to the account of your country, and whether you write me public dispatches or private letters, *they shall be answered*.

Yet it was in these full years that Adams found time to systematize the work of his office and to devise an index system for diplomatic papers, which we are told is still in use in the Department of State. Small wonder that the Secretary of State and his wife neglected their social obligations and incurred the displeasure of the exacting society at the capital.

Space does not permit a review of the diplomatic problems with which Adams was brought face to face. It must suffice to say that these letters throw light from many angles upon the evolution of the foreign policy associated with the name of Monroe. The editor has already drawn largely upon this material for his illuminating papers on the

relation of Adams to the Monroe Doctrine. Many of the important despatches are printed in full or in part in *American State Papers*.

The reviewer has found only one serious error. The foot-note on page 259 would seem to be misplaced. Did the impeccable Adams, formerly Boylston Professor of Rhetoric in Harvard College, really write twice "You was" (pages 187 and 256)? Or has the editor, nodding, allowed two typographical errors to escape his vigilant eyes?

A. J.

*A History of the National Capital from its Foundation through the Period of the Adoption of the Organic Act.* By WILHELMUS BOGART BRYAN. Volume II., 1815-1878. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. xvi, 707.)

THE second volume of Mr. Bryan's history of the District of Columbia is better than the first volume. The author seems to feel more certain of his ground and to have greater familiarity with his facts. The volume itself grows better as it proceeds and the chapter next to the last, in which Mr. Bryan deals with the Shepherd régime, is the most interesting. The whole book, however, is interesting. It is not arranged on the topical plan, as histories of cities usually are, but, in a general way, proceeds chronologically. Thus the variety of the subjects dealt with holds the attention of the average reader who would grow weary with the strain of following one subject for a long time. The book shows conscientious industry and contains a wealth of facts, large and small. Presidential inaugurations, schools, municipal government, streets, roads, newspapers, clubs, slavery, bridges—these are a few of the hundreds of subjects dealt with. Many of them are of little concern to people who do not live in Washington, but many are of national importance and are a part of the history of the United States.

The federal capital, before the government of the United States created the city of Washington, had been located in two old, well-established cities which had acted as the government's hosts, and the government had no sense of ownership in New York and Philadelphia and no responsibility for their municipal affairs. When it moved to Washington it did not accept the new relationship which actually existed between itself and its city. Moreover, the theory of local self-government obtruded itself upon the fact that here there was no local population—that everybody in the city had come there to serve the government directly or indirectly. As the city formed it was encouraged to believe that it had interests independent of the government and even in conflict with it. The history of Washington, as Mr. Bryan unfolds it, is the story of how the city blundered forward oppressed and hindered in its progress by a division of responsibility when the responsibility really belonged with the federal government alone. But Congress created the separate municipality, which, until recently, had mayors, aldermen, councilmen, frequent elections, mobs, riots, bribery, debts, and all the famil-

lar attributes of cities. And as long as it had to govern itself it had civic pride, although there was not much to be proud of. The vain effort to draw a line of division between the interests of the city and of the United States went on. Congress was for a long time a hard step-mother to its own offspring. Many members could not forgive it for having been hatched upon the banks of the Potomac and it was not until our own day that efforts to move the capital to some other place were finally abandoned.

Mr. Bryan tells us how the city in 1817 entered upon a plan of canal construction, joining with other communities in the pursuit of wealth through internal improvements; but in 1828 the railroads began to come and the canals never brought in any profit. The city was bankrupt in 1836. It had borrowed much of the money for the canals from bankers in Amsterdam. Consequently, it was declared on the floor of the Senate: "the agents of the foreign creditors are here ready to purchase the property of these citizens of Washington under the hammer, so that there is danger emphatically that this city may be sold to the Dutch." "It was said", adds Mr. Bryan, "by those members of Congress who acknowledged no right of claim to relief that they were willing to vote for it as they did not wish to see the capital sold." So Congress paid the debt for Washington, but not for Georgetown and Alexandria.

The national capital then comprised the three cities of Georgetown, Alexandria, and Washington, but so unprofitable did the connection appear to be to Georgetown and Alexandria that they desired to sever it and to return to their original allegiance. In 1838 the citizens of Georgetown at a public meeting said that Congress did not afford the city congenial and proper legislation and they sent a memorial to the Maryland legislature asking the state to take Georgetown back. A committee of the legislature reported favorably on the request, but the state was already burdened with canal debts and did not wish to bring Georgetown in with more, so it laid the Georgetown memorial on the table. Alexandria, however, when it found its burdens heavy, found promise of help in the legislature of Virginia, and when it requested to be put again under Virginia jurisdiction the act on Virginia's part was promptly passed. The measure was looked upon with equal favor by the national Congress, but that body made it conditional upon an expression of preference on the part of the inhabitants of Alexandria and the vicinity. They left no doubt on the point by voting 7463 in favor of the change and 222 against it. From that time (1846) the history of the national capital excludes Alexandria.

The grievance of the District against Congress was not only that it neglected it but that it experimented upon it. The chairman of the House committee on the District is quoted by Mr. Bryan as saying: "Some gentlemen seem to regard the District of Columbia with the same feelings with which doctors regard animal life. They look upon it as a rat under an exhausted receiver, where political empirics may display

their quackery without danger of being called to account for their folly and ignorance."

The inclination to make the city a proving-ground had a good illustration as soon as the Civil War was over, when the question of negro suffrage was brought forward. It was pronounced against in Washington by 6591 votes to 35 and in Georgetown by 712 votes to one vote. Nevertheless, Congress determined to try it here first and the negroes were given the ballot. When they first voted in 1867 they were orderly and the candidates were white men. After a time, however, they demanded and received a share of the municipal offices. An effort was made at this time to further experiment with the city by allowing women to vote, and Representative Julian of Indiana offered an amendment to the District government bill for that purpose, but Congress was opposed to it. So far as negro suffrage was concerned, although it was obnoxious to the white people in the District, as Mr. Bryan says, it never fulfilled the worst predictions of its opponents. It gave the city an inferior set of officials, but it did not put the city wholly at the mercy of the less intelligent and responsible residents. It had a tendency, however, to lower the tone of the government and to strengthen the hold of national questions upon purely local problems. The effort of the more far-seeing citizens was to divorce the city from consideration of national politics. They pointed out truly enough that as it must have the good-will of Congress it was bad policy to offend the political views of the members. When the political excitement was intense immediately after Lincoln's election it was seriously proposed by responsible property-holders that the entire management of the city should be put in the hands of Congress.

A new form of government was given the city in 1871 with the power still partially in the hands of the citizens. There was a board of public works, however, appointed by the President, and Alexander R. Shepherd became in fact the board of public works. Then began that extraordinary régime, under which money was borrowed without collateral, all questions which required public approval were carried by rough but effective methods, new streets were opened, hills were levelled, pavements were laid, and the noble plan of L'Enfant which had been a forgotten dream was made a reality. By the time that sober citizens had caught up with the breakneck race of the mad builder of Washington and headed him off his work was done. The credit of the city was gone, debt was piled on debt, it was impossible for the city to pay the interest under any arrangement. The value of much of the property had been destroyed by regrading the streets, curses loud and deep fell upon the head of the ruthless Cadmus, but Washington was made. Between the drawing of the plans by the visionary, impracticable, contentious L'Enfant and the building of the city by the reckless, determined, unscrupulous Shepherd, eighty years of doubtful and precarious destiny had passed.

*Williams: Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy 185*

With the downfall of Shepherd ended local self-government in the District of Columbia, and in 1874 began the commission form of government with all the chief appointments resting in the President and the population not voting. Mr. Bryan's history stops at this point, but it is evident that he has a great deal more to say and a third volume bringing the history up to the present day is to be hoped for.

GAILLARD HUNT.

*Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy 1815-1915.* By MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Goucher College. (Washington: American Historical Association; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1916. Pp. ix, 392.)

THE excellence of the work done in this volume is attested by the fact that the Justin Winsor Prize in American History for 1914 was awarded to the author on account of it. It is indeed the most important exposition, historically speaking, of the subject to which it relates. For the first time, by reason of the use of manuscripts in the Public Record Office in London and the Department of State at Washington, but particularly of those in London, the actual course of the negotiation of the celebrated Clayton-Bulwer Treaty is disclosed. In one place (p. 102) the author speaks of Clayton as having been guilty of "indirection", and elsewhere represents him as having shown a want of what we may call steadiness in the conduct of the transaction. It is not implied, however, that he overreached his adversaries in the negotiations. All the proofs combine to show how ardent was his desire to make a treaty which should on the one hand be approved by the United States Senate, and which should on the other hand be the means of averting a collision with Great Britain. The latter motive seems indeed to have been the overruling one, and to such an extent was it influential that it produced results in phraseology that came near defeating Clayton's main object.

This circumstance and the train of events connected with it render appropriate certain comments which by no means affect the accuracy or thoroughness of the author's investigations but relate rather to historical perspective. On a certain occasion a public speaker, when asked to give reasons for his demand for a "big navy", replied that he "desired to be in the fashion". By analogy, we may say that there seems to be a certain historical "atmosphere" which is supposed to be essential to the discussion of the diplomacy of Pierce's administration, to say nothing of that of Buchanan. A certain deprecation should, it seems, characterize it: a suspicion of aggressiveness, especially in the interest of the "slave power", should always attend it; and to this should be added, for seasoning, just a dash of assumed demagoguery. On any other supposition, how are we to explain the fact that, while the language of Pierce's message of 1855 is admitted to have been temperate, there should be found, in the "determination not to yield on either the

recruiting difficulty or the dispute over Central America", a "hostile note"? And how, on any other supposition, is the statement to be explained that the "compromise", effected under Buchanan in 1860, was "an unequal one, for Great Britain conceded the more"? For it must be borne in mind that the author rejects as an afterthought and unfounded Great Britain's claim that the restrictive clauses of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty were wholly prospective. Had this construction at the time been suspected, it is hardly conceivable that an American Secretary of State would have signed the treaty, or that a single vote could have been secured for it in the United States Senate. In explanation of the British claim, and of the British forward movements after the treaty was made, we may indeed in fairness take into account the enterprises of the filibusters, and the suspicions which they naturally served to engender; but this is far from justifying an imputation of unfriendliness either to Pierce and Marcy or to Buchanan and Cass. While it is true that Marcy was not easily intimidated, and was not inclined to yield clear rights under the stress of threats, he sincerely desired to maintain friendly relations with Great Britain on the basis of mutual respect. His disposition in this regard is clearly exemplified by the reciprocity treaty of 1854, which was largely his handiwork. As for Buchanan, who, for reasons generally understood, to a great extent personally conducted the diplomacy of his own administration, his desire to preserve the most cordial relations with Great Britain is amply attested. Ten years earlier, as Secretary of State, his reluctance to force the issue with that government in the Oregon controversy caused Polk to regard him as "timid". Of the essential friendliness of his attitude there can be no doubt.

In the author's preface, it is stated that chapter X., which embraces the latest phases of the tolls question and even adverts to what is called the "new Monroe Doctrine", covers a period too recent for satisfactory treatment. The facts are, however, pretty well known, and future investigations will not add anything that is requisite to a judgment upon the questions involved. But, should further disclosures be made, they can hardly justify stronger expressions than the author has used in condemnation of the diplomacy of the United States in the matter. We are indeed advised that the reply of Mr. Knox to the British protest was "evasive and in its arguments unsound", so that it did not have "the undivided support of the nation". The latter test we may reject as inconclusive, in view not only of the popular reception accorded to President Wilson's address to Congress of March 5, 1914, but also of the circumstance that Congress, in eventually granting a reluctant repeal of the exemption of coastwise vessels, reaffirmed the right of the United States in the premises. A more intelligent understanding of the subject would, besides, have been assured if the author had pointed out the particulars in which Mr. Knox's note was "evasive" and "unsound". Had this been done, the fact should have appeared that the

position of the British government was not what it seems to be supposed to have been. The British government did not in fact allege that it would have suffered any wrong if the tolls schedule had actually gone into operation and American coastwise vessels had been exempted from the payment of dues. The precise claim was that all vessels should be included in the aggregate tonnage on which the rate of tolls was computed; and this had in reality been done. The protest of the British government was based upon the circumstance that the language of the act of 1912 was broad enough to permit the government of the United States to omit its coastwise vessels from the computation of rates, in case it should at some future time see fit to do so. In other words, the protest was in effect a reservation made with reference to a future contingency. It is, therefore, not strange that the British government, after receiving Mr. Knox's reply, did not continue the correspondence.

*Union Portraits.* By GAMALIEL BRADFORD. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1916. Pp. xvi, 330.)

THERE are sure to be three ways of regarding these essays. The pedestrian student, finding in them the pedestrian task declined, will call them vague. The historian of broader views and more generous sympathies, is likely to applaud their temper. The reader who approaches them as literature will be the most equivocal of the three.

The dissatisfaction of the pedestrian in history will not trouble Mr. Bradford. To look in his pages for the definite sequence of his subject's career, is to ignore his own warning as to what he has set out to do. Here, as in his earlier volume, *Confederate Portraits*, he aims at what he terms "psychography"—which, however, many of us fail to distinguish from a familiar thing not disguised in a peculiar name. The manifest difference between an essay by Mr. Bradford and one by, let us say, such an old-fashioned workman as Macaulay, is not, to the ordinary intelligence, a matter of the literary form. Though Mr. Bradford will, of course, disagree, most of us will find the difference between him and, say, Macaulay, when it shows to his advantage, to lie in a more jovial cast of mind, and when it is not to his advantage to involve a less arduous apprenticeship to letters. In both cases the predominant note is the freely impressionistic use of a vast knowledge of detail. In this impressionism of Mr. Bradford's is revealed his attractive temper, the gracious, glancing, always slightly amused attack, which contrasts so happily with the dogmatism of so many critics. This it is that will lead every fair-minded student to applaud him, to hope he will not cease applying to American history this fine clarifier of an atmosphere rendered murky by acrimonious debate.

And yet, from the historical point of view, one must ask the question, Is there here any contribution to our understanding of—not merely our attitude toward—our history? Do these essays, discussing all the



great Union leaders except Lincoln, contribute new ideas—they make no claim to contribute new data—which other historians must reckon with? Well, one must admit that in most cases, they end by reaffirming the traditional impression. For example, the initial essay. It beats the bush with great spirit but does it really—if new ideas are what we are after—start the hare? Is not the McClellan we know at the end of this essay pretty much the McClellan we knew at the beginning? One essay, perhaps—“Stanton”—emerges from the rest as a somewhat sharper attempt to weigh evidence with more definite results. Two essays will have distinct sectional interest. The “Sherman” will cause the typical Southerner to wonder whether he is beholding a mirage—so richly is the subject endowed with admirable qualities—while the “Sumner” challenges not a little of the established tradition of New England. And when considered as a whole the entire group has a stimulating word for us all. Without, perhaps, conscious purpose, Mr. Bradford, in these essays, is making a study of “Americanism”. Here is his real contribution. What he sets us thinking about, time and again, is this question: how, to what extent, were these characters typical of America? The illusive-mindedness of McClellan, the vaingloriousness of Hooker, Meade’s irritability, Sherman’s restless preoccupation with externals, Sumner’s belief that “words could do anything”—are these but so many traits of “the American”?

Furthermore, is there, in all these men, any common factor? The reviewer has a strong feeling that, as they are here presented, there is. It is never formulated and yet—if the effect is not a fancy—it is all the more real because of its pervasiveness and its unintentionality. Only to those who have no literary sense will it seem strange if Mr. Bradford’s impressionism has done its best work unaware, sustaining throughout this book a sense of things that it was not his conscious purpose to express. Could he do better than to make his next task the formal presentation of this sense he has of a certain character tone, a moral and mental atmosphere that is distinctively “American”?

N. W. STEPHENSON.

*The Life of William McKinley.* By CHARLES S. OLCOTT. In two volumes. (Boston and New York; Houghton Mifflin Company. 1916. Pp. xvi, 400; viii, 418.)

MR. OLCOTT has made a readable biography, though it might with advantage have been either shortened in text or lengthened in title, for it is a panorama of McKinley’s times not less than of his life. As explained in the preface, this expansion of its scope was due to the way in which the fortunes of its hero were intertwined with those of the nation. For the purposes of a reference compendium, the subject is well treated; but if the intention was to give us a vivid picture of one man’s career, the chapters on the Tariff, Sectionalism, and the Cur-

rency might have been reduced to a few paragraphs apiece without spoiling its background.

The author is happiest in his handling of the human phases of his narrative. The memories which linger in the minds of intimates of McKinley as youth, soldier, son, husband, man among men, are wholly amiable; and possibly it is still too soon for the historian, above all things a friend, to present in its true perspective the public record of such a man during twenty-five years of making politics a profession. Mr. Olcott is so unreservedly a eulogist that in discussing McKinley's original attitude toward free-silver coinage, for instance, he goes into elaborate excuses for a course which might better have been dismissed with a simple confession that it was a mistake. A kindred criticism applies to the case of the civil-service order of May 29, 1899, "making certain changes which experience had proved necessary, and all intended to make a real improvement"; for no one familiar with the circumstances can forget the spirit in which most of the President's advisers attacked the task of overhauling the work of his immediate predecessor, or the "pressure from without" which all frankly admitted they were suffering. On such matters, the judicious reader will have to form his own judgments quite independently of those volunteered by the author.

Much interest attaches to the picture Mr. Olcott sketches of the administrative processes in ending the war with Spain. He was fortunate in having among his direct sources of information not only several close friends of McKinley like William R. Day and Charles G. Dawes, but so methodical a man as former Secretary Cortelyou, who made minute notes of every incident worth recording during this epoch. The preserved fragments of McKinley's own correspondence and private papers are few, because of his habitual preference of a face-to-face interview to an exchange of letters, as he consciously owed much of his influence over others to the spell of his personality; and his practice of disposing every day of the current business brought before him usually obviated the need of a memorandum. One of the rare exceptions to this rule was a pencil-jotting, plainly made on the spot by the President's own hand, of his informal talk with Admiral Dewey on October 3, 1899, about the Philippine situation. Of that a facsimile is given us. Several confidential letters, also, from Whitelaw Reid, John Hay, and Justice Day, written to the President in the summer and autumn of 1898, throw a little welcome color into the negotiations between the Spanish and the American peace commissioners at Manila, with inklings of the sentiment of the British and German governments respectively at that period.

Likewise illuminating are the communications by wire between Colonel Montgomery, who had charge of the White House telegraph and telephone facilities during the Boxer rebellion in China, and Secretary Cortelyou, who was passing the summer with McKinley in Canton, Ohio. These two men acted as mouthpieces for the President and the

members of his Cabinet. A cabinet officer in Washington would hold a long-distance telephone receiver to his ear; the President would do the same at the other end of the line; Montgomery and Cortelyou, seated at the main instruments, would do the actual conversing for them; and thus they could thresh out any question almost as conveniently as if they were on opposite sides of a table. Cortelyou's stenographic note-book recorded the conferences verbatim; and posterity will be able to read in them the story of the upgrowth of the policy pursued by our government in that crisis, and see the painstaking way in which the President personally edited the military and diplomatic despatches which were to be cabled abroad, so that they should convey just the desired shade of meaning, and avoid committing the United States by a single unnecessary or inadvisable word.

The chapter entitled Renomination and Re-election tells, probably for the first time in detail, the McKinley version of what took place behind the scenes at the Philadelphia convention of 1900, including the sharp and fateful struggle over the vice-presidency, and the individual shares of several of the more notable participants in bringing about the final result. In respect to sundry other features of his hero's career, Mr. Olcott answers questions which have long been waiting for authoritative settlement. The persistent devotion of McKinley to the protective tariff cause is attributed chiefly to two men: his old comrade in arms, Rutherford B. Hayes, advised his preparing himself for service in the House of Representatives by making a special study of this subject; and when James A. Garfield retired from Congress in 1880, leaving a vacancy in the Republican minority of the Ways and Means Committee, it was on his recommendation that Speaker Randall appointed McKinley to fill it. The friendship with Marcus A. Hanna which was to bear fruit of such historic importance began in the national convention of 1888, where McKinley remained loyal to Sherman in spite of the efforts of the opposition to lure him into countenancing a movement in his own behalf.

The two volumes are illustrated with nineteen reproductions from photographs; an appendix contains the complete text of McKinley's last address at Buffalo, a brief account of the trial of his assassin, and a paper on the monuments reared in his honor; and there is a very fair index.

*History of Education in Iowa.* By CLARENCE RAY AURNER. Volumes III., IV. (Iowa City, Iowa: State Historical Society. 1916. Pp. xii, 464; xi, 471.)

THE appearance of these two volumes in quick succession marks the completion of the second third of Dr. Aurner's notable history of education in Iowa. It is gratifying to find in them the dignity and worth which characterized the form and substance of the former volumes. They are authoritative, within their limitations, impartial in

tone, and rich in material suggesting further refinement and research. The third volume deals with secondary education, including chapters on academies, incorporated, unincorporated, and sectarian, on public high schools, and on courses of study in such schools. The entire fourth volume is given up to the three state-supported institutions: the state university, the state college of agriculture and mechanic arts, and the state teachers' college. The large story of other institutions of higher learning is left for future treatment.

It is clear that the task of preparing a history of secondary education in Iowa was difficult to an unusual degree; it is equally clear that Dr. Aurner has not been specially successful in performing it notwithstanding his painstaking and loyal efforts. He is at his best when he can analyze legislation and official reports, and deficiency of this sort of material in the field of secondary education constituted a double handicap for him. The third volume is confused, prosaic, uncertain in its emphasis, too often apologetic for omissions, and quite lacking in elevation of understanding of the subtle forces which were shaping the great secondary school movement, not in Iowa alone, but in the whole West. It gives a prairie view of a prairie state's notable progress, but it leaves the reader with the conviction that even this faithful study is at best a re-enforced concrete foundation, with every stone elaborately labelled and each steel rod duly inscribed, on which some later worker who has imagination and a finer power of summarizing and interpreting will build a more sightly structure. The fear of tabulations amounts almost to an obsession of the editor or of the author, and waste of fair paper and of the reader's time in making comparisons is one of the results. To trace the development of the curriculum of a high school he must, in the case of Dubuque, for example, look at as many as five separated statements; prolix paragraphs embodying exact figures of attendance at schools, like business colleges (III. 128-135), figures of graduating classes in twenty high schools in 1880, and many courses of study grow wearisome.

Particular mention should be made of chapters dealing with pioneer academies such as Denmark and Howe's, with seminaries for women wherein some interesting experiments were attempted, with the evolution of the organization of public high schools, and with "The District High School—Analyzing the Situation" (chapter XVIII.), the last being one of the best in the volume. Even these chapters, however, illustrate a defect in the author's method, a defect which is not chargeable to limited space: a tendency to write Iowa's history, whether political or educational, as though that commonwealth had grown up apart, a sort of Chinese entity surrounded by a high wall over which strong influences and impulses rarely if ever flowed. A whole chapter (XIV.) is devoted to the township high school, but no mention is made of the fact that 150 such schools have grown up since 1866 just across the Mississippi in Illinois. Similarly a good deal of space is given to the

Iowa system of accredited high schools, but never a reference to obligations or relations to Michigan, where it originated and whence it spread.

The fourth volume is based on abundant and orderly materials furnished by state legislation, official reports, proceedings of boards, and institutional publications. It is a distinct improvement on the preceding volume in proportions and in the tracing of forces at work in the evolution of the three institutions of collegiate type. The struggles of each for existence in the early years, for income, buildings, and equipment, and for better salaries of teachers, are sympathetically described, though there is scant reference to the effect of inter-institutional animosities and competitions before the legislature. The section treating of the state university has an excellent chapter (XVII.) on Recognition of the Methods of Science in that institution. The transformation of the state college of agriculture and mechanic arts from an "industrial", manual-labor school for earnest but unlettered children of farmers into a vigorous, stately, outreaching, diversified technological institution is admirably presented. Five good chapters are given to the state teachers college.

A captious critic might differ with the author as to what should go into the text and what should go into the foot-notes. Across a page of text stalks a paragraph burdened with the information that the state college was visited by a company of distinguished German agriculturists "and due provision was made for their entertainment, the President, the dean of agriculture, and the chairman of the Board of Trustees being charged with the functions of the occasion" (p. 287). Early presidents and professors of the university get whole pages of text; later presidents slip into and out of this history through the narrow slits of foot-notes.

KENDRICK CHARLES BARCOCK.

#### MINOR NOTICES

*Plutarch's Lives.* With an English Translation by Bernadotte Perrin. Volume III. *Pericles, Fabius Maximus, Nicias, and Crassus.* (London, William Heinemann, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916, pp. ix, 442.) This compact little volume, from the hand of one whose work as a translator and commentator is familiar to all students of Plutarch, forms the third of a series of ten, which will eventually present a complete new translation of the *Lives* of the Greek biographer. In accordance with the plan of the *Loeb Classical Library*, of which this edition forms a part, the Greek text appears on the left-hand, faced by the corresponding English version on the opposite, pages. Perrin has made a departure from the traditional order of sequence of the *Parallel Lives* and has arranged them in general in the chronological order of the lives of the Greeks whose biographies Plutarch composed. In accordance

with this plan the third volume contains the *Pericles* and *Fabius Maximus*, and the *Nicias* and *Crassus*, with the comparisons of each pair. The translations of the *Pericles* and *Nicias* are reproductions, with unimportant alterations, of Perrin's versions published previously in volumes II. and III. of his *Six of Plutarch's Greek Lives* (cf. XI. 840). The rendering of the *Fabius Maximus* and *Crassus* is, however, new, and conforms to the high standard set by the author's previous translations.

A correction should be made, I think, in the note on page 127, where, on the authority of Livy (XXII. 8), Fabius is styled pro-dictator. Mommsen (*Staatsrecht*, II. 147 A. 4; cf. 162 A. 1) has shown that we have no ground for accepting this view of the dictatorship of Fabius.

For the historical student this new edition of Plutarch's *Lives* should prove of value, in view of the presence of the Greek text, the numerous foot-notes with dates, historical and other information, and the location of references made to the works of other authors, as well as to those of Plutarch himself. Of additional value is the appended Dictionary of Proper Names, which contains a great deal of useful historical, biographical, and geographical material. The appearance of the remaining volumes of the series will be welcomed.

A. E. R. BOAK.

*Syria as a Roman Province.* By E. S. Bouchier, M.A. (Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 1916, pp. ix, 304.) Historical incursions into the provinces seem to be the order of the day for writers who are attacking the questions involved in the spread and maintenance of the Roman Empire. In his *Life and Letters in Roman Africa* and his *Spain under the Roman Empire*, Mr. E. S. Bouchier has already roamed the imperialistic path around the western Mediterranean and validated the Roman stamp on barbarian lands. Now he invites us to the farthest eastern shore of the Mediterranean to see Syria as a Roman province.

To be sure, the Holy Land and the Syrian Christian Church bring to mind the religious significance of Syria, and if one glances at the rather meagre bibliography at the back of Mr. Bouchier's book, the names of Bevan, Bury, Hahn, Cumont, Frazer, Croiset, Mahaffy, and Strzygowski will recall many an interesting side-light on Syria from particular points of view. But this book of Mr. Bouchier's is the first serious attempt to bring together in one place an "account of the life and manners, the literature, and antiquities of central Syria and Phoenicia in Roman times". References are also made to such outlying districts as Palmyra, Commagene, and Roman Arabia, but none (as the preface states) to the Holy Land or to Christian ecclesiasticism in Syria.

The first six chapters of the book are given up to a catalogue of the peoples and cities of Syria, to the history and constitution of the province, and to the Syrian dynasties at Rome. This more strictly historical section is carefully handled, as foot-notes with ancient sources and *Corpus Inscriptionum* references testify, but the mixture of annalistic

and guide-book style of treatment tends toward making good material and pleasing diction slightly monotonous. The chapter on Natural Products and Commerce is likely to be an eye-opener to most readers, for it gives in charming yet multitudinous detail the commercial facts which underlay the perennial pecuniary importance of Syria not only to Rome but to its predecessors in that territory, an importance all the more impressive when compared with the present-day desolation and poverty. The last four chapters are devoted to literature, religion, and the arts, and here the author indulges perhaps in too much detail.

The book has very few even of the little mistakes. Aryan is used instead of Indo-European, Dion Cassius instead of Cassius Dio, and the very late and more unusual forms Arelatum and Treviri for Arelate and Augusta Treverorum.

Mr. Bouchier has added a good book to the field of Roman history.

R. V. D. MAGOFFIN.

*The Domesday Survey of Cheshire.* Edited with Introduction, Translation, and Notes by James Tait, M.A. [Remains Historical and Literary connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, vol. LXXV., new series.] (Manchester, Chetham Society, 1916, pp. xvii, 258.) The fascination of the study of Domesday Book is due in no small measure to the light it is throwing upon English institutions of the pre-Norman period for the explanation of which various hypothetical solutions have been offered. In examining the scholarly introduction to the present volume for a discussion of these questions one is not disappointed. The view that the original hidage of a county was allotted to its hundreds in blocks of one hundred finds support in but two of the twelve Cheshire hundreds. Villages here are too poor to be rated at five, ten, or twenty hides, but in a few cases the assessment of parishes is based on a five-hide unit. The well-known statements of the Cheshire Domesday, urged by Mr. Maitland in support of the garrison theory of the borough, tend rather to constitute an argument against the theory.

The work is a substantial aid to Domesday students. The text is printed in extended Latin with English translation. The introduction is illuminating and the indexes good. A useful map locates the villages in which lay the lands of the great churches and the principal tenants. Among the editor's contributions is the discovery that in a few instances carucates and bovates formed geldable units in this county. He holds that assessment to the geld was roughly adjusted to ability to pay; that the Domesday rating, which is but slightly more than half of the 1200 hides assigned the county by the county hidage, is fair when judged by the criterion of agricultural capacity, though actually high on account of the waste of war. The word "salina" is rendered "salthouse". The definition of "håmfare" (p. 81) is more specific than the almost contemporary evidence of the *leges* admits.

WILLIAM A. MORRIS.



*La Controverse de Martin Marprelate, 1588-1590: Épisode de l'Histoire Littéraire du Puritanisme sous Elizabeth.* Par G. Bonnard, Docteur ès Lettres. (Geneva, A. Jullien, 1916, pp. xv, 237.) The Martin Marprelate controversy has been a fruitful field of recent discussion. The labors of Arber, Bond, Dexter, Pierce, and Wilson have made these lively Puritan writings familiar both in text and circumstance. M. Bonnard cheerfully admits that he "has not had the good fortune to discover new sources of real importance". Nevertheless, his scholarly study has been well worth the doing. No treatment thus far accorded this episode has given so satisfactory an analysis of these tracts or has so presented to the reader not only their faults and merits, but their setting in the circumstances of their time. His volume is one that will be well-nigh indispensable to any further student of the most picturesque episode of Puritan discussion under Elizabeth.

The author is peculiarly happy in showing how these tracts occasioned, by their claim of a *jure divino* Presbyterianism addressed to a popular audience, the assertion by Richard Bancroft of a similar *jure divino* claim for Episcopacy, with all the momentous consequences that that assertion has involved for the Church of England.

Regarding the authorship of the tracts, M. Bonnard believes a practically conclusive case is to be made out for Job Throckmorton, in spite of that worthy's denials, and of the recent attempt of a careful English scholar, Mr. J. D. Wilson, to fasten them on Sir Roger Williams, at least in part. M. Bonnard has made out a strong case for his contention. It seems the most probable of any solutions thus far offered.

The name of the well-known Congregational scholar, Rev. T. G. Crippen, is twice erroneously printed "Grippen" (pp. 5, 232); but blemishes in this careful volume are few.

WILLISTON WALKER.

*The Identification of the Writer of the Anonymous Letter to Lord Monteagle in 1605.* (London, Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, and Company, Ltd., 1916, pp. ix, 28.) The history of the so-called Gunpowder Plot of 1605 has been involved in obscurity from the appearance of the disingenuous contemporary official account to the scholars' controversy between Father Gerard and Professor Gardiner a few years ago; and one of the most obscure questions connected with it has been the authorship of the warning letter to Lord Monteagle which has been generally supposed to have led to the detection of the plot. This last mystery appears now to have been cleared up. In a thin quarto, sumptuous of paper and printing, lawyerlike in style and abundantly supplied with fine facsimiles, it seems to be reasonably fully proved that the writer of the anonymous letter of warning was a certain William Vavasour, trusted serving man in the Tresham family, to which one of the conspirators and Lord Monteagle belonged. The identification is based partly on handwriting, partly on Coke's statements at the trial, partly on the gen-

eral relations among the parties concerned. Although the only point claimed to be actually demonstrated is that the letter was written by William Vavasour, the inference necessarily follows that he wrote it at the bidding of his master, Francis Tresham, the latest sworn of the conspirators, and delivered it by his orders to Lord Monteagle's serving man. It is characteristic of the obscurity of the whole affair that the steps in the reasoning by which these things are proved are very close, that examples of disguised not natural handwriting are here compared and found similar, and, as if to perpetuate the mystery, that this little book is itself anonymous.

E. P. C.

*La Mission du Conventionnel Lakanal dans la Dordogne en l'An II. (Octobre 1793-Août 1794).* Par Henri Labroue, Professeur Agrégé d'Histoire au Lycée de Bordeaux. (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1916, pp. xxii, 704.) Lakanal is recalled chiefly for his activity as a member of the Committee of Public Instruction of the Convention, as one of the prophets, therefore, of the modern French educational system. It is M. Labroue's aim to exhibit another side of the *Conventionnel's* career, and to make, at the same time, a contribution to the study of the work of the deputies on mission, the "Proconsuls of the Terror".

How varied were the tasks which the more conscientious, or ambitious, deputies undertook is indicated by the titles of the fifteen special chapters which describe what Lakanal sought to accomplish; for example, "Lakanal and Revolutionary Government", "Lakanal and Ecclesiastical Affairs", "Lakanal and Subsistence", "Lakanal and Revolutionary Taxes". Each topic is studied from the documents preserved in the various collections at Paris and in the local archives, municipal as well as departmental. The author has been able through his unwearied researches to correct many errors in the older tradition of Lakanal's career in the Dordogne and even to show that Lakanal's own memory suffered convenient lapses. For example, Lakanal boasted that he had caused no arrests while on his mission. It is true that he was personally responsible for no executions, but he did cause arrests.

If M. Labroue desires to convince us that Lakanal was a substantial personage, he has not succeeded. His own approval of him seems at times doubtful. Lakanal's principal fault was the ease with which he assimilated dominant ideas. He had been a priest, and at the time of his election to the Convention was vicar-general of Pamiers, but in 1793 he refers to "momeries sacerdotales", "insignifiantes prières", "ridicules génuflexions", and "jongleries des prêtres". One is reminded of Camille Desmoulins's remark about ecclesiastics who confess that they have been charlatans for the sake of enjoying good cheer.

Lakanal's ideas about property are typical of the Jacobin school of thought. "L'ennemi du peuple n'a point de propriété", he declared in order to justify his levies of extraordinary taxes upon the "riches inciviques", anti-revolutionaries or even moderates, who happened to have

money. As the "people" were his own faction, it was not difficult to discover those who had lost all right to their property. Lakanal was also a firm believer in a social justice which assumes that the rich are robbers of the poor, and he proceeded accordingly, to a partial restoration, describing the process as relief of the needy.

Lakanal may not be admirable, but this work is. It is a real contribution to the history of the revolutionary government which the Convention carried on in 1793 and 1794.

H. E. BOURNE.

*How Wars were Won: a Short Study of Napoleon's Times.* By George Townsend Warner, M.A. (London, Blackie and Son, 1915, pp. 236.) This is a series of lectures given at Harrow to boys in the Officers' Training Corps. There are few schools in this country, leave alone our universities, where anything of nearly as good quality could be produced. This is far from saying, however, that Mr. Warner attains the best standards either of historical study or of military theory; and his teaching is not free from serious pitfalls. Among the topics he deals with are Ulm, Tourcoing, Jena, Torres Vedras, and Vittoria. The maps and diagrams are distinctly better than in the average book of this type; we particularly commend the relief sketch, with troop positions marked, for the battle of Busaco.

J.

*List of Works relating to Scotland*, compiled by George F. Black, Ph.D. (New York Public Library, 1916, pp. viii, 1233.) The New York Public Library is to be congratulated on the affluence of its material respecting Scotland, and also on the affectionate zeal of the Scot who has produced for it so prodigious a catalogue of that material. The 1072 pages of text must contain more than 20,000 entries. Though many are repetitions of the same title under various headings, the sum total of books, pamphlets, papers in transactions, and articles in magazines, remains impressive. Archaeology, history, biography, and genealogy embrace three-fifths of the book. Scots law is but meagrely represented, Scottish and Gaelic language and literature largely. The index, of 160 pages in double column, seems to be merely an author-index. We find no section of the book devoted to those influences of Scots in Ulster or on the Continent, or of Ulster Scots in America, to which allusion is made in the preface.

*Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap.* Zeven en Dertigste Deel. (Amsterdam, Johannes Müller, 1916, pp. lxvii, 369.) Of this thirty-seventh volume of the Utrecht society's proceedings, the first sixty pages are occupied with a series of responses made in 1663 by cities of Holland to an inquiry sent to each by the provincial states, relating to the condition of the cloth industry, about which anxieties had

been expressed. Reports from nine cities are extant, mostly in the communal archives of Leiden. In the fifth volume of the *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van de Leidsche Textielnijverheid* Dr. N. W. Posthumus published the Leiden replies. The remaining eight, with some pertinent documents from the "admiralties" and elsewhere, are now presented. They illuminate the history of the industry at a critical period, seem to prove that its decline had already begun, and show how French competition and other difficulties were already inciting a reaction from free-trade sentiments. The second contribution, twice as extensive as this first, consists of a body of extracts from the resolutions of the *vroedschap* of Gouda, embracing such as relate to transactions of the States of Holland and the States General in the earlier years of the sixteenth century. They run from 1501 to 1524, stopping at that point because the journals of Aert van der Goes begin in 1525. In the existing state of early formal records of the States, these local instructions and local actions upon provincial and national affairs, edited by Mr. A. Meerkamp van Embden, are of much interest. Dr. S. Van Brakel prints, from notarial archives, a group of seventeenth-century agreements of partnership, of considerable importance to the history of Dutch business administration. As interesting as any section of the book, and longest (pp. 235-369), is Mr. H. G. van Grol's contribution on the Zeeland prize court at Flushing and its operations, 1575-1577. The life of the admiralty court of Zeeland was brief; the Pacification of Ghent made the trial of prize causes once more an affair of the general administration, and provincial jurisdiction ceased. Mr. van Grol finds in the archives of Flushing the records of 238 prize cases in these two years, and presents the essential data in tabular form.

*Poland.* By W. Alison Phillips, M.A., Lecky Professor of Modern History, University of Dublin. [Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, no. 100.] (New York, Henry Holt and Company, London, Williams and Norgate, 1916, pp. vi, 256.) This small volume is a history of the Polish question, rather than of Poland. Professor Phillips has undertaken not to narrate, even in outline, the ten centuries of Polish history, but to trace the evolution and to discuss the present state of a problem to which, as he justly says, "recent events have given so fateful an importance and so poignant an interest". The five chapters dealing with the period of Polish independence (down to 1795) are disappointing. They are marred by a surprising number of errors, particularly with regard to dates; and they seem to the reviewer to contain more than one fundamentally false conception, and to rest on a quite too superficial and hasty investigation of the subject. The "Congress Kingdom" and the insurrections of 1830 and 1863 are satisfactorily treated; as well, perhaps, as has yet been done in English (within the given limits of space). Doubtless the most valuable part of the book, however, is that dealing with the fortunes of the Poles under their three masters since

1863 and with the evolution of Polish political parties and political thought just before the outbreak of the war. Professor Phillips believes that the great majority of the nation now bases its hopes upon Russia; that the best solution of the question would be the establishment of an autonomous Polish state, bound to Russia at least by a customs union (for "the independence of Poland would be dearly bought, were she to be cut off by a high tariff wall from her Russian markets", p. 163); and that England and France, as well as Russia, must realize that upon the restoration of Polish freedom the liberty of the rest of Europe essentially depends (p. 250).

The book is to be commended for a clear and attractive style, and for the fairness and objectivity which the author has, on the whole, maintained. The appended short bibliography of works dealing with the Polish question should be of assistance to the general reader.

R. H. L.

*Reden, Vorträge und Abhandlungen.* Von Alfred Stern. (Stuttgart, J. G. Cotta, 1914, pp. 389.) This collection illustrates admirably the catholic interests of the gifted Jewish-Swiss author of the *Leben Mirabeaus* and the *Geschichte Europas, 1815-1848*. The "speeches" comprise brief eulogies of the Emperor William I., of Gabriel Riesser, who contended energetically in Germany for the emancipation of the Jews and who, appointed a judge at Hamburg in 1860, was the first Jew admitted to the bench in his country, of Leopold von Ranke and George Waitz, and of Gabriel Monod. The last three speeches, delivered at various dates from 1886 to 1912, had previously appeared in print. Similarly, the four "studies" in the volume had already been published: the first, on Mirabeau and Lavater, in the *Deutsche Rundschau* in 1904; the second, on Talleyrand's memoirs, in *Nord und Süd* in 1893; the third, prepared with the aid of documents discovered in the British Foreign Office in 1899 and recounting the visit of Gneisenau to London in 1809 and the secret negotiations for a close alliance of Prussia and Great Britain against Napoleon, appeared in the *Historische Zeitschrift* in 1900; and the fourth, particularly diverting in these present embattled and nationalistic times, presenting the curious scheme of Prince Polignac for a territorial readjustment of Europe in 1829, appeared in the *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* in 1900. Prince Polignac, it will be recalled, taking account of the contemporaneous war between Turkey and Russia, urged the French government of Charles X. to co-operate in ending Ottoman rule in Europe and in refashioning the Continental map: Russia should secure Wallachia, Moldavia, and a third of Anatolia; Bosnia and Serbia should go to Austria; Belgium and Luxemburg to France; Prussia should annex Holland and Saxony and indemnify the Catholic king of the latter by ceding him her Catholic Rhenish province; the head of the Orange family, compelled to yield his native Holland to Prussia, the Belgian provinces to France, and the Dutch colonial em-

pire to England, should receive compensation as king of a new Greece, which would include not only the modern kingdom of Greece but also Constantinople, Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Albania. All of these "studies" of Professor Stern have been considerably revised since their first appearance.

The only contributions in the collection, however, that are entirely new, are the four "lectures": the first is a glowing tribute to the mind and achievements of Beaumarchais; the second, a painstaking study of the attitude of Wieland towards the French Revolution, according to the articles published by the poet in his *Teutscher Merkur* and *Neuer Teutscher Merkur*; the third, a sympathetic sketch of the life and career of Mary Wollstonecraft, "the first woman to champion equal rights for her sex"; and the fourth, an appreciation of Moltke as a Caesar-like historian in his letters and in his earlier works on Poland and Turkey. It may not be amiss to add that all the lectures and studies in this volume are written in a style characteristically simple and clear.

CARLTON J. H. HAYES.

*German Policy before the War.* By G. W. Prothero, Litt.D., Hon. LL.D., F.B.A. (London, John Murray, 1916, pp. viii, III.) This little book is expanded from notes of a lecture delivered in January, 1916, before the Royal Historical Society and bears both in spirit and style marks of informal origin. Interesting but highly inconclusive is the author's development of the militaristic theory of the state, "the state as a superhuman entity", from Kant's categorical imperative on the one side and the "sublime selfishness" of Goethean self-culture on the other. The second chapter summarizes the causes of the nation's trust in the army and the economic forces which armed its aggressiveness and led finally to the *Drang nach Osten*, which Prothero regards as "the master key of German foreign policy". The author then traces in three chapters the history of German foreign affairs since 1871, pivoting important changes of policy on the accession of William II. and on the weakening of Russia in 1905. He concedes the "obvious need" of a German navy, justifies German claims in Morocco, and admits with reserve the plausibility of German reasoning as to a "wide-spread plot against the life of Germany". In spite of its fairness of tone, the work bears the marks of special pleading, and is, as was perhaps inevitable, a partizan interpretation of history, a fact which strikes the neutral reader on well-nigh every page, whether in such statements as that regarding the brutality of recent German literature and the materialism of German science (p. 23), or in the recitation of the Schnäbele incident (p. 51) or the proposed Sanjak railway (p. 85) or in the whole account of the annexation episode of 1908 (p. 87 ff.), where fact and theory are no longer distinguishable. The weakest point is the author's failure to appreciate the German attitude toward the alliance with Austria, culmi-

nating in the statement that "Germany's intense interest in the maintenance of the Austro-Hungarian empire" is "difficult to understand except as a part of Germany's ambition in the Orient". The foreign critic will find that Bismarck's justification of the alliance as a necessary bulwark for German independence of Russia furnishes a simpler explanation (*Ged. und Erinn.*, II. 525 ff.).

ROBERT H. FIFE, JR.

*Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706.* Edited by Herbert Eugene Bolton, Ph.D., Professor of American History, University of California. [Original Narratives of Early American History.] (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916, pp. xii, 487.) In the preparation and publication of this book students of the history of our extreme Southwest and of California have been rendered an extreme service, for, as Professor Bolton announces, of the numerous Spanish documents herein presented in translation, only a third have hitherto appeared in English, about a third in Spanish only, while the remainder have never before been printed in any language. In a word, then, the volume is replete with original material for the history of the territory to which it pertains. Each document or series of closely related documents forms a section of the work, with an introduction which summarizes the object of the expedition (for all the documents pertain to expeditionary activities) and its achievements. The sections comprise the following subjects: I. Exploration and plans for the settlement of California (the Cabrillo-Ferrelo expedition, the Vizcaino expedition, and Father Ascención's Report of the Discovery of the South Sea); II. Exploration and settlement in New Mexico and in adjacent regions (the Rodríguez and Espejo expeditions; the Oñate expeditions and the founding of the Province of New Mexico); III. Exploration and settlement of Texas (the Bosque-Larios, Mendoza-López, and De León-Massanet expeditions); IV. Arizona: the Jesuits in Pimería Alta, comprising the report and relation of Fr. Eusebio Kino. An elucidative map of explorations on the northern frontier of New Spain (1535-1706), compiled by Professor Bolton, and two hitherto unpublished original maps—one of Oñate's route to New Mexico in 1598 and to the Arkansas River in 1601; the other recording De León's journey in 1690 from Monclova to the Neches River in Texas—add further interest and value to the work; indeed the Oñate map is destined to clarify a number of mooted points pertaining to Oñate's colonization scheme. The text is illumined with many brief foot-notes, and the contents are made readily consultable by a full index.

No adequate review of this important contribution to Spanish-American history is possible within our limitations of space, as each of the numerous documents appearing is itself worthy of a summary. In a word, Professor Bolton's book is of such importance and usefulness to students of the Southwest and of the Pacific slope as to be indispensable.



We note a slip or two of minor importance: Cocoyes (pp. 212, 218) is not Cicuyé or Pecos, as that pueblo, in the form "Peccos", is given in the same document (p. 216). The "Piguís" of Oñate (p. 216) are undoubtedly the Piro, as all the other Pueblo tribes are readily accounted for. It may also be mentioned that the Zuñi saline (p. 236) is at once recognized as the salt lagoon southwest of Zuñi, the source of the Zuñi salt supply from time immemorial and to which the members of the tribe mentioned still make periodical pilgrimages.

F. W. HODGE.

*Our Country's Flag and the Flags of Foreign Countries.* By Edward S. Holden, LL.D. (New York and London, D. Appleton and Company, 1916, pp. xiv, 165.) The new edition of Edward S. Holden's volume, which first appeared in 1898 as one of the series of Appleton's *Home Reading Books*, is well timed with the patriotic fervor of the day. There are few changes to be noted. A page describing special United States service flags is substituted for one illustrating some official flags of the country, and efforts have been made to have text and illustrations meet the historical changes that have taken place. But the discrepancies between text and illustration are many, with results that must be confusing to the young reader, for whom the book is primarily designed. This is true, for example, in the description and illustration of the flags of Algiers, the Chinese Republic, Congo, Corea, Madagascar, Portugal, Tripoli, and Tunis; and in spite of the admonition given that in any disagreement between plate and text the latter is to be preferred, it is the text that is, in most cases, at fault.

*Historical Records and Studies of the United States Catholic Historical Society.* Volume IX. Edited by Charles George Herbermann, LL.D. (New York, 1916, pp. 258.) Nearly half of this volume, 100 pages, is devoted to Dr. Herbermann's History of the Sulpicians in the United States, of which four chapters are presented. In the first, entitled the Sulpician Missionary Bishops and Missionaries, sketches are given of Bishop Flagnet of Bardstown (based mostly on the biography by Archbishop Spalding), of Bishop David, his successor in the same see, of Father Gabriel Richard of Detroit, of Bishop Dubourg of St. Louis and New Orleans, of Archbishop Maréchal, and of Bishop DuBois of New York. Two other chapters trace with care and with interest the history of St. Mary's Seminary and St. Mary's College till 1852, and another, under the title *Protégées of the Sulpicians*, gives the contemporary history of Mother Seton, of the Sisters of Charity, of the Sisters of St. Joseph, and of the (colored) Oblate Sisters of Providence. Another long article, by Rev. W. J. Howlett, treats in a similar manner the biography and the missionary labors of the Very Reverend Stephen Theodore Badin, vicar-general of Bardstown, of Cincinnati, and later of Chicago, while Mr. Thomas F. Meehan adds a sketch of Very Rev.

Johann Stephan Raffener, vicar-general of the Germans in the diocese of New York. A picture of New Mexico in 1681 is presented by the translation of a letter written that year by Father Johannes Ratkay, S. J., missionary in the province named. Another translation is of a German discourse of 1888 on the Ludwig-Missions-Verein.

*Memorandum written by William Rotch in the Eightieth Year of his Age.* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916, pp. xii, 88.) This little book relates some of the experiences of William Rotch, a Nantucket Quaker, who was engaged in the whaling and shipping business at Nantucket and later at Dunkirk, France. The story covers the eventful years 1775-1794. The first portion centres around the fact that he believed, with other islanders, both because of expediency and because of his Quaker principles, that Nantucket should remain neutral during the war. Mr. Rotch was on committees appointed by the town in 1779 and 1780 to go to Newport and New York to secure from the English better treatment and permits for whaling, and later to Congress for the same purpose. In all these missions he was successful. He was "impeached" for high treason in 1779 for alleged correspondence with the English, but brilliantly defended himself.

When the war ended, Mr. Rotch had lost much of his fortune by reason of it, and besides found the English market for sperm oil closed as a result of heavy import duties. He accordingly determined, in 1785, to set up his business in England. After the English government had refused to give him proper encouragement, he made proposals to that of France. He had interviews with Vergennes and other ministers who accepted his proposals, and the business was established at Dunkirk. In 1791 he petitioned the National Assembly in the interest of the Quakers, spread their doctrines, looked after his business interests, and returned to America in 1793. An appendix gives the petition, the answer of the president, and the complaint against Mr. Rotch in 1779. There are several fine illustrations of whaling scenes. The story is told in a simple and interesting style, and makes vivid the peculiar difficulties experienced by Nantucket in the Revolution. It also gives us an example of the courage which so many Quakers exhibited in maintaining their principles in war times.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

*The Presidency: its Duties, its Powers, its Opportunities, and its Limitations.* Three lectures by William Howard Taft. [University of Virginia, Barbour-Page Foundation.] (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916, pp. 142.) This is a clear, comprehensive, and useful treatise on the office of the presidency. Probably no other incumbent of the position could have written it, because no other has possessed the faculty of studying the powers and limitations of the office with the peculiarly detached and judicial temperament that distinguishes Mr. Taft.

The Constitution is singularly vague in defining the powers of the President. Being vaguely expressed, those powers have been capable of great extension since the days of Washington, who hesitated long before he sent to Congress, basing it upon constitutional reasons, the first of his two vetos; whose power to remove an officer without the consent of the Senate was warmly disputed; whose advice to Congress on the subject of legislation was conveyed in the simplest and broadest suggestions of topics to be considered.

President Taft takes the office as he found it—and as he left it—and explains what it is. He does not attempt to show historically when and how one power after another was derived from a lesser power assumed by one of his predecessors. But he does exhibit the office in the present state of its evolution, and illustrates each position by many interesting events and problems in his own experience and in that of those who preceded him. There is little that is controversial in his statements or opinions. In one or two instances he makes it clear that he recognizes limitations on the executive power that one or two recent Presidents have been inclined to disregard. That is a useful service; for the American public is strangely blind to the evil that history shows us may result to the liberties of the people from a too-extensive assumption of authority by a Chief Executive.

*Presidential Nominations and Conventions: a History of American Conventions, National Campaigns, Inaugurations, and Campaign Caricatures.* By Joseph Bucklin Bishop. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916, pp. x, 237.) Mr. Bishop devotes the first part of his volume to the conventions to nominate candidates for president; then follow some twenty or thirty pages relating to political caricatures and cartoons, a great many of which are reproduced; and the book closes with accounts of the ceremonies and accompanying incidents of the installation of a few of the presidents. It seems to have been the author's chief aim to be picturesque, and in that he has succeeded. He has culled from well-known books of history and reminiscence many anecdotes and events illustrating our political history. He does not pretend to give anything like connected history, and no student will find in the book any help in understanding fully the significance of public events, or in educing the lessons from them.

Nevertheless the book will be found, by those who read pseudo-history for entertainment only, more interesting and readable than more serious works. It is not misleading, in the sense of misstating facts, but it does tend to mislead by emphasizing what is unimportant and frivolous in political history, and by repeating forgotten scandals. Such a statement as that cannot be justified without specification of what it is intended to condemn.

The reproduced cartoons are a prominent feature of the book. Mr.

Bishop had access to large collections of the feebly-pictured political wit of politicians from the time of Jackson onward. The most of those which he presents are harmless, simply because to men of the present generation they are meaningless. The alleged political tricks represented were never heard of by them and the names and caricatured countenances of those figuring in the pictures convey no information. Indeed, when you have to turn from the picture to another page, by use of the index, to learn what is intended by the picture, there is little danger that you will conceive a contemptuous opinion of the statesmen of the past, save in a general way. But it is a serious offense to reproduce such caricatures as those of Lincoln and Blaine, to mention no others, ridiculing or heaping moral condemnation upon men whom a large number of the present generation hold in respect.

Something similar must be said of the text. The general effect is to bring out all the littleness of our public men and to omit whatever explains the prominence they achieved in their time. The weak sides of Webster, Conkling, Blaine, and others are fully exposed, with anecdotes, the most objectionable of which is that—which ought to be forgotten—about Henry Clay. And a few million voters will think their party is not fairly treated in the partizan account of the Taft-Roosevelt convention of 1912.

*The Centennial History of the American Bible Society.* By Henry Otis Dwight. In two volumes. (New York, the Macmillan Company, 1916, pp. 296, 297-605.) This is for historians both a grateful and a disappointing work. It is good to have a detailed history of the American Bible Society. In its first ninety-nine years its receipts aggregated over \$38,000,000, it circulated nearly 110,000,000 Bibles and Testaments, embracing in the United States alone ninety-two languages; and it has been an almost indispensable element in all missionary activities. Moreover, it is of importance both as an illustration of, and a factor in, our nationalizing processes, and is one of the most significant items in the tendency toward Christian unity. Historians generally have overlooked it; even Henry Adams's history of the years in which it came into existence ignores it entirely. Yet the bare fact of the formation, chiefly by citizens of New Jersey and New York, of a national Bible Society in 1816, as a capstone of perhaps a hundred local and state societies, has bearings on general American history easy to be seen.

We have here, in many respects, an official history. The author is not only an experienced missionary and editor, but since 1907 has been the recording secretary of the American Bible Society, and in 1914 was apparently released from other duties to devote his time to this work. He has used as material, in addition to the elaborate *Annual Reports* and other publications of the society, its records and considerable collateral material. His work has been carefully and accurately done.

Yet anyone who goes to it for information will be disappointed to find that it is not primarily a history, but "a book to be read by the people", with a strongly pronounced propagandist tendency, seeking obtrusively "in every chapter the glory of God". The author is obviously less interested in history than in the American Bible Society. There are very few references to sources, but there is incessant moralizing. The facts given could easily have been compressed into one volume. Were it not for a good index and valuable appendixes, its use would involve much waste of time.

There is space for but a few criticisms of details. "Spaulding" (p. 366 and index) should be Spalding; "Samuel J. Walker" (p. 189) should be Robert J. Walker, and "J. H. Poinsett" (p. 78) should be Joel R. Poinsett. For "December 31, 1916" (p. 469) read December 31, 1915. For "Polk" (p. 183, line 1) read Tyler. The foot-note on page 400 should show Japan and China as a single agency of the society in 1876; there were not two separate agencies until 1881. A rigorous exclusion of mere variations in versions or manner of printing would reduce the number of languages in which the society has translated, printed, or distributed the Scriptures from 164 to less than 150 (pp. 562, 533).

*The Real Story of the Whaler: Whaling, Past and Present.* By A. Hyatt Verrill. (New York and London, D. Appleton and Company, 1916, pp. xv, 249.) The history of the American whaling industry has been undertaken by several authors with varying degrees of success. Alexander Starbuck's *History of the American Whale Fishery from its Earliest Inception to the Year 1870*; Walter S. Tower's *A History of the American Whale Fishery* (1907); John R. Spears's *The Story of the New England Whalers* (1908),<sup>1</sup> are examples. In the present book there are ten chapters, entitled, What we Owe the Whaler, Whales and their Ways, How the Whales are Caught, Whaling Ships and their Crews, Outward Bound, True Stories of Whaling, the Log of the Whaleman, Leisure Hours, the Rise and Fall of Whaling, and the Passing of the Whaler. The special feature of this book is the vivid inside view of the whaling industry which the author has apparently acquired from close association with men who have followed the business and from a study of whale-ships and their fittings, log-books, shipping accounts, papers, etc. One can almost smell a whale-ship and the wharves of New Bedford and Nantucket as they were in the heyday of whaling. Another important feature is the large number of illustrations, such as maps, pictures of whale-ships and whale-boats, sectional plans of the same, pictures of outfitting shops and outfits, figures of different varieties of whales, implements for capture, processes of "cutting-in", "scrimshawing", log-books, accounts, etc. Particularly interesting is

<sup>1</sup> The latter was reviewed by the present writer, with comment on the first two, in the *American Historical Review*, XIV. 391-392.

chapter IV., with sectional views of two ships, and a list of "Articles for a Whaling Voyage", published in 1858. No less than 635 different articles are mentioned. As Mr. Verrill says (p. 67) "it will be seen that a whale-ship was really a floating department store, carpenter shop, blacksmith shop, shipyard and several other things all rolled into one". There are some thrilling "True Stories of Whaling" in chapter VI., and a clear statement of the causes for the rise and fall of whaling in chapter IX.

Much concerning the evolution of the industry is omitted, better treated by Tower, and little attention is paid to its economic and social significance in the development of New England. The book is in no sense a scientific study of the subject but is written in popular style, without a bibliography, citations, or index. Nevertheless, the author has used much original material of the kind which has to do with the actual processes of whaling and the life of the whaler. In this respect it is, in the opinion of the reviewer, one of the most interesting and best books yet written on this subject.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

*Abraham Lincoln: the Lawyer-Statesman.* By John T. Richards. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916, pp. vii. 260.) This is an interesting and valuable book. It does not purport to be a biography of Lincoln,

but is intended only as a presentation of the results of an investigation into the record of Abraham Lincoln as a lawyer, his views upon the subjects of universal suffrage and the reconstruction of the Confederate State Governments at the close of the Civil War, and his attitude toward the judiciary, upon which there has been considerable misunderstanding in recent years.

In many respects, it covers the same ground as *Lincoln the Lawyer*, by Frederick Trevor Hill, which appeared in 1906, though it gives rather more attention than the latter book to the exposition of Lincoln's legal views as they were developed during his presidency. It gives less attention than Mr. Hill's book to the early life of Lincoln, and is much less full on the intimate and anecdotal side of Lincoln's life. On the other hand, Mr. Richards gives a more detailed statement of the facts of the various cases which Lincoln had in the supreme court of Illinois than does Mr. Hill, and his account of some of the more frequently mentioned cases in which Lincoln appeared, like the Armstrong murder case, the Rock Island bridge case, and the McCormick reaper case, is more full and circumstantial than that of Mr. Hill.

Mr. Richards deals with his subject with sympathy and enthusiasm, but his method is always restrained, temperate, and judicial. He has certainly rendered a valuable service, as did also Mr. Hill, in rescuing Mr. Lincoln's reputation as a lawyer from the hands of certain of his biographers who would leave the impression that his practice was small, his

cases of little importance, and his methods those of a backwoodsman who relied upon trickery, rude wit, and vulgar story for such success as he achieved. The records show conclusively that Mr. Lincoln was one of the ablest, most successful, most respected, and widely employed lawyers of his time and territory. Whether, as Mr. Richards contends, he may properly be termed "great" as a lawyer, depends of course upon the sense in which that adjective is used. One is reminded of the comparison drawn between Jeremiah Mason and Daniel Webster—that one was a great lawyer and the other a great man practising law. Mr. Richards quotes from David Davis, the early and life-long friend to Mr. Lincoln, whom Lincoln as President appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States:—"In all the elements that constitute the great lawyer, he [Lincoln] had few equals. He was great both at *nisi prius* and before an appellate tribunal."

FLOYD R. MECHEM.

*The Administration of President Hayes.* The Larwill Lectures, 1915, delivered at Kenyon College by John W. Burgess, Ph.D., J. U. D., LL.D., formerly Professor of Political Science and Constitutional Law, Columbia University. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916, pp. xi, 154.) Professor Burgess publishes under this heading what is in reality a series of lectures bearing to a considerable extent the character of a tribute to President Hayes. Hence one encounters a good deal of eulogy, frequently extravagant in phraseology, which, in seeking to estimate the value of the book, must be discarded as part of the usual trappings of memorial addresses. Was President Hayes really, as the writer asserts, "the finest example of genuine American manhood . . . who ever occupied the White House", and can we say of his term that "no wiser, sounder, and more successful presidential period has ever been experienced by this country"?

About three-fifths of the volume is devoted to the election of 1876 and the subsequent withdrawal of troops from Louisiana and South Carolina. Here one finds the same facts and theories which Professor Burgess has already elaborated in his *Reconstruction*, justifying on strictly constitutional grounds the action of the Electoral Commission, and yet managing, also on constitutional grounds, to applaud the legality of Hayes's refusal to continue the federal support of the returning boards. The distinction is an exceedingly technical one and Hayes's purposes, as the author admits, were wholly political and not legal, but on it he relies to sweep away the charge that Hayes was inconsistent in refusing to maintain the state governments to which he owed his own election. In the part of the book devoted to the events of Hayes's administration Professor Burgess depicts him as chiefly a constitutional reformer, "re-establishing the government upon its constitutional foundations" through his contest with Congress. He even goes so far as to say that Hayes's use of the veto power and his assertion of executive



rights over appointments "prevented the parliamentary system of government, the system of the sovereignty of the lower house of the legislature, the system which finally extinguishes all of the constitutional immunities of the individual, from displacing the check-and-balance system provided by the Constitution for the purpose of maintaining and protecting those immunities". This curiously technical and hypothetical way of characterizing the bitter party contests of 1879-1880, in which the Senate was in no danger of being subordinate to the lower House, and the President, supported by more than one-third of each branch, occupied an impregnable position, cannot but seem artificial. Throughout the book the writer's preoccupation with political science, constitutional procedure, and legality throws social or political factors into the shade. The student of government will find interesting and suggestive material, but little to suggest the great underlying tendencies of the time or to show President Hayes's share in them or his relation to his party.

THEODORE CLARKE SMITH.

*My Story.* By Tom L. Johnson. Edited by Elizabeth J. Hauser. (New York, B. W. Huebsch, 1913, pp. xli, 326.) "Tom" Johnson made a fortune in street railways before he was thirty-five, and spent the rest of his life in the anomalous position of a capitalist who was at once a free trader and a disciple of Henry George. In politics he called himself a Democrat but he often found that he was unacceptable to the orthodox in both great parties. Twice he represented the Cleveland district in the House of Representatives before he reached the top of his public service as mayor of Cleveland, 1901-1909. The identity between his professions and his practices was often questioned by his contemporaries, but his associates, at least, believed that the harmony was complete and that he was the prophet of a new public spirit. Johnson and Pingree, Brand Whitlock and "Golden Rule" Jones managed to force city government into the public view over the obstruction of best citizens, of indifference, and of greed. As a group they stand midway between the municipal reformers of the Cleveland and Blankenburg types, and they form a connecting link between the populists and the progressives.

Johnson was not an easy writer or speaker. He was effective in rapid debate under his big tent, but he left few manuscripts or set speeches. He tells in one place how he defeated the Hon. T. E. Burton in a joint debate under conditions limiting speeches to ten minutes, in which time his learned opponent could not get started, much less finish. Because of this habit Johnson would not have left an autobiography had not his friends demanded it and his secretary put it together; and his book shows the defect of his method. It is a first-hand narrative of his life as it appeared from its later end, and it relies little upon investigation or preserved records. It approximates in type Brand Whitlock's *Forty Years of It*, and the Roosevelt and LaFollette autobiographies

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rather than the admirably documented books on Henry George and Henry Demarest Lloyd. With the biographical works here mentioned it needs to be compared. The external facts of the last forty years are patent to the industrious, but the spirit which will give them life for the historian can be got only from the sincere utterances of participants. And if these have left no contemporary documents, their recollections must needs serve. In addition to the light thrown upon himself, Johnson necessarily gives much useful information upon railway promotion and municipal control. He was, by his own definition, "a good executive . . . one who always acts quickly and is sometimes right".

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

*Collections of the Maine Historical Society, Second Series, Documentary History*, volumes XXI. and XXII., *Baxter Manuscripts*. Edited by James Phinney Baxter. (Portland, the Society, 1916, pp. xiv, 491, xii, 482.) These are the sixteenth and seventeenth volumes in this series to which the designation *Baxter Manuscripts* has been given apparently for the reason that the society is indebted to Mr. Baxter for the care and expenditure necessary for bringing the materials together. Ordinarily such a designation would indicate either the papers of the Baxter family, or a mass of papers possessed by someone of that name. It is apparent that neither of these alternatives is true of the materials composing the present volumes. Although there is not a foot-note in either book, nor any indication as to whence any document is derived, the materials are evidently drawn from divers sources, such as the archives of Massachusetts, those of the state of Maine, or of its counties and towns, those of the Maine Historical Society, and the manuscript collections of individual possessors. One document filling seventy pages of the second volume is the Act of Congress of August 4, 1790, establishing the customs system of the United States, a document which, though it has some relation to the history of Maine, as to that of all other states in which there were ports of entry, is surely sufficiently accessible elsewhere. The documents in the first volume extend from 1785 to 1788, those in the second from 1788 to 1791. They are of much value and replete with interest. Despite the insufficiency of their apparatus in the respects which we have mentioned, the volumes have excellent indexes.

*A List of Newspapers in the Yale University Library*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany II.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1916, pp. viii, 217, 25 charts.) Many historical readers have known that the library of Yale University contained a large collection of newspapers, but few, the reviewer imagines, can have been aware that it is so large as is indicated by this list. The Yale University Press and the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences have done a useful service to the historical inquirer by providing him with such a key to

the library's newspaper treasures, a manual ranking alongside the catalogues of newspapers published by the Library of Congress and the Wisconsin Historical Society, and the newspaper lists of a different sort published by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts and the American Antiquarian Society. The list includes, besides the newspapers owned by the Yale library, a large collection of South American newspapers deposited by Professor Hiram Bingham. While most of these last are of dates since 1875, there are substantial Bolivian and Peruvian series for earlier portions of the nineteenth century, Argentine facsimiles for 1810-1821, and the *Gaceta de Mexico* during most of the period from 1784 to 1823. There are a number of good English sets, especially after 1754, and, before that date, *Mercurius Politicus* from 1653 to 1660, and an almost unbroken series of the *London Gazette* from 1665 to 1712. In modern English series and in those of New England from the Revolution down, the collection is rich, and for New York from 1850 it is more than good. Of Continental European series, we may mention the *Moniteur* and *Journal des Débats* substantially complete to 1842, the *Sievernaia Pchela* from 1825 to 1835, the *Allgemeine Zeitung* from 1798 to 1819 and from 1860 to 1873. Twenty-five charts at the end of the volume give a clear conspectus of all the library's series having any considerable extent.

*Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D. C.* Volume 19. (Washington, 1916, pp. 234.) Aside from formal records of the society and certain obituary commemorations, the chief contents of the volume are as follows. There is a discourse on the history and jurisdiction of the United States Court of Claims, by Judge Stanton J. Peelle, retired chief justice of that court. Mrs. Margaret Brent Downing, under the title *Literary Land-Marks*, gives an account of many authors, more or less celebrated, who have lived in Washington, of their places of residence, and of what they have written. It is entertaining but not always discerning or accurate; *e. g.*, Samuel Hooper is throughout two pages constantly spoken of as Samuel Cooper. Mr. Allen C. Clark, in continuance of a series of papers on the mayors of the corporation of Washington, deals in this volume with the life of Thomas Carbery, mayor from 1822 to 1824. There is an historical sketch of George Washington University, formerly Columbian College, by its present president, Rear-Admiral Charles H. Stockton. Mr. W. B. Bryan, the historian of the city, presents a diary of Mrs. William Thornton covering the period of the capture of the city in 1814.

*The Conquest of Virginia.* By Conway Whittle Sams. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1916, pp. 432.) The early histories of Virginia are replete with accounts of the manners and customs of the native tribes with whom the colonists came in contact. Various passages are, necessarily, quite vague and involved, but in recent years, as a result of care-

ful study and research, many such statements appearing in the works of Smith and Strachey have been made clear and easily understood. In *The Conquest of Virginia* the author has brought together much of the early material, making lengthy quotations, in an attempt to represent the aborigines of Virginia as they were at the time of the coming of the first settlers; but he has failed to refer to later publications which would, in many instances, have explained and amplified the older texts. And having failed to become acquainted with the relationship of the different tribes of eastern United States, and of Virginia in particular, he has, unfortunately, often erred in their identification. Thus (p. 26) we find a reference to the "Susquehannocks" [Susquehanna] being one of the Six Nations! On the same page, after mentioning certain tribes living on the southern boundary of Virginia, he wrote:

South, southeast, and southwest of these, stretching close to the end of Florida, were the Maskoki, or Mobilians, comprising the Catawbas and the Yemassee; in North Carolina and South Carolina, the Chickasaws and Choctaws; on the Mississippi, with a small territory of the Natchez Indians between them, the Creeks in Georgia, and the Seminoles in Florida.

A sentence so filled with errors that it would be difficult to add another; and others of a similar nature occur in different parts of the book.

In no part of the work—a work dealing with the Indians of Virginia—do we find mention of a Siouan Confederacy bordering the Algonquian tribes on the west, or of Iroquoian tribes south of the James.

No new facts are presented in the work under consideration, and from the manner in which many comparatively simple words and terms have been defined (as on p. 162), and the curious method of presenting "Some Indian Words" (pp. 285-323), we are led to believe the book was intended for juvenile readers, to whom it will appeal.

DAVID I. BUSHNELL, JR.

*Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1806.* [Collections of the Georgia Historical Society, vol. X.] (Savannah, the Society, 1916, pp. 500.) From 1796 to his death in 1816, Benjamin Hawkins of North Carolina, formerly a member of the Continental Congress, and afterwards, for five years, senator from his state, served his country faithfully and with great intelligence and efficiency as an agent to the Creek and other Southern Indians. Nine volumes of his letter-books have been in the possession of the Georgia Historical Society for seventy-five years. In 1848 the society published, as part I. of volume III. of its *Collections*, his *Sketch of the Creek Country in 1798 and 1799*, one of the most interesting and valuable accounts we have of any tribe of the Southern Indians in the eighteenth century. The society now prints, under the above title, the text of his remaining letter-books. In the preface, the committee in charge of the publication speaks with a certain

complacency of the service to the public thus performed. It is indeed a considerable service, for the volume contains a great deal of invaluable material, far more than might be expected from the title "Letters"; for many of General Hawkins's letters are reports or narratives of large extent, and marked by much fullness of information.

But if the society has performed a useful service to the historical public, it has reduced the service to its lowest terms by a method of publication which can only be described as discreditable. The materials of the letter-books have been simply put into print, fed, so to speak, into the hopper, in the order in which they stand in the manuscript books. Now this order is far from chronological. After a reprint of Dr. Weeks's account of Hawkins's life, from the *Biographical History of North Carolina*, the first 355 pages are occupied with letters of the latter part of 1796 and of the years 1797 and 1798. The next sixty or seventy pages are material of 1801, 1802; then follow a few letters of 1806 and of 1805; then a large number relating to 1796-1798 again. The location of this last section in the manuscripts being obviously casual, they should by all means have been put in their chronological place, where the searcher could find them. In addition to this pointless following of a disorderly arrangement, the material is printed without a single foot-note of explanation, though in many places explanations are requisite; and there is no index! The volume concludes with a reproduction of a part of Early's map of Georgia, of 1818, a date too far removed from the period to which the material mostly relates.

*Circuit-Rider Days in Indiana.* By William Warren Sweet, Professor of History in DePauw University. (Indianapolis, W. K. Stewart Company, 1916, pp. 344.) The student of the early history of Indiana will find no more interesting material than that relating to early religious influences. Indiana's obligation to these influences in the development of the state cannot be calculated. A complete record of these would be an invaluable addition to the archives of the commonwealth.

Among the contributions of the year to Indiana history which have had their inspiration in the centennial activity, *Circuit-Rider Days* deserves an important place. The author states that the "volume will, in a sense, be recognized as Indiana Methodism's contribution to the historical literature of the Centennial year".

Professor Sweet has previously been interested in religious history, his doctoral dissertation for the University of Pennsylvania having been on the subject *The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Civil War*.

In the preparation of *Circuit-Rider Days* the author has had the advantage of the large collection of material in De Pauw University, including a complete file of the *Western Christian Advocate* and the *Minutes* of the old Indiana Conference from 1832 to 1844. It was during these years that the foundations of Indiana Asbury University (now De Pauw) were laid. These minutes were never before pub-

lished. They are here edited with notes and constitute part II. of the volume covering pages 90-333.

Part I., consisting of eighty-nine pages, outlines the history of Methodism in Indiana until 1844. This is divided into three chapters—the planting of Methodism in Indiana, Indiana Methodism 1816-1832, and the Old Indiana Conference 1832-1844. Pages 334-339 are given to a bibliography arranged under the subjects of Manuscripts, Biographical and Autobiographical, and General. Four maps showing early Indiana, Indian cessions, Indiana circuits in 1812, Indiana districts in 1832, and presiding elders' districts in 1844, add to the interest of the narrative.

The Methodist Church has been considered one of the most active of all the pioneer churches in the state, and it made a very rapid growth from the beginning. The period of great activity in organization, missionary work, the organization of Sunday-schools, and the distribution of Bibles and religious literature is covered by this volume, and the official minutes furnish one of the best sources for early Indiana church history. The book is not encumbered by narrative but enough is given to make it readable and spicy.

Professor Sweet dedicates the volume "To the Circuit Riders of old who contributed so largely to Indiana's life", and it may be said that he has made his contribution in much the same spirit as actuated their endeavors. His work has been carefully done and it is a valuable contribution to Indiana history.

HARLOW LINDLEY.

*History of the University of Chicago.* By Thomas Wakefield Goodspeed. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1916, pp. xvi, 522.) The twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the University of Chicago is appropriately marked by the publication of this hundred-page history. At first sight the volume seems too massive for so brief a period, especially when we remember the attractive "short stories" of Columbia, Princeton, and other institutions, recently issued. But the careful reader will find it difficult to suggest how the narrative could be abbreviated. It was necessary that once for all a documentary history of a most remarkable enterprise should be written, and written within the lifetime of most of the men who played the leading parts. That has now been done—modestly, adequately, authoritatively—and need not be done again until future generations have gained a new perspective.

It will be a surprise to many readers to learn how profoundly religious was the motive behind the inception of the university. This discriminates the founding sharply from that of, *e. g.*, Virginia, or Cornell, or Leland Stanford. At Chicago the primary motive—as the printed documents show—was the desire of a great section of the Christian Church to make some offering toward human enlightenment and toward the equipment, under religious auspices, of men and women for human

service. The university motto—*crescit scientia; vita excolatur*—finely expresses the subordination of knowledge to life which has marked the entire history of the institution.

The many extracts from private letters here printed for the first time are of permanent interest. In them we read the minds of the quite unusual group of men who conceived the university before either the founder or the first president had given it any thought. Here we see the long and persistent attempts to interest Mr. Rockefeller, and see him passing from his early non-committal attitude through the stages of inquiry, prolonged study, growing confidence, and genuine devotion. In these letters we see that *prodigious*—no other word will do—dreamer and organizer, William R. Harper, refusing point-blank to leave the professor's chair and venture out on uncharted presidential seas. Here we can follow the young president through his early struggle both for men and for money; we see him in his alternations of enthusiasm and despair; we see his tireless patience, his harmonizing power, his steady mastery, his heroic endings.

Like all great enterprises, the university has had its interior struggles. The early attacks on Dr. Harper's methods of Biblical study, the natural, but baseless, charge that freedom of teaching did not exist, the subsequent charge that the university allowed too much freedom and encouraged fantastic theorists—all these familiar stages in the evolution of a university are frankly depicted. The later debate over the "segregation" of the sexes in the first two academic years evidently approached the dimensions of civil war. But the institution survived all these difficulties and the reader of the history is conscious of a resistless buoyancy in the enterprise, as of a vessel that could weather any storm.

There is in this book little attempt to set forth the temper or inner life or spiritual quality of the university. It may have grown too fast to know its own soul. Decades still are needed to fuse all its multifarious elements into one ideal. Only the men of a later generation can appraise its output, and compare its products with those of the more quiet and conservative institutions of the East. In no country save America could such a gigantic dream have come true in a quarter-century; and the story is well worth the reading.

*Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada.* Edited by George M. Wrong, Professor of History in the University of Toronto, H. H. Langton, Librarian, and W. Stewart Wallace, Lecturer in History. Volume XX., the Publications of the year 1915. (Toronto, Glasgow, Brook and Company, 1916, pp. xii, 224.) This new volume has the same high qualities as its predecessors. The judgments expressed upon books seem to us admirable in quality, just, liberal-minded, discerning, and practical. Still more to be emphasized is the high degree of completeness the editors have attained in their effort to cover their field. In view of the natural difficulty of reviewing a book of this sort, itself



consisting of reviews, our best method may be to signalize several important books of which we have learned for the first time through its pages. They should be made known to our readers, and, though the confession is made in sackcloth and ashes, the omissions after all furnish but one more illustration of the curious want of connection between the Canadian and the American book trade, which leaves us such insufficient means of learning promptly what goes on in literature upon the other side of that pacific boundary. The books (and parts of books) to which we refer are the following: *Les Franciscains et le Canada*, volume I, *L'Établissement de la Foi*, 1615-1629, by Father Odoric-Marie Jouve, O. F. M. (Quebec, Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionnaire, pp. xviii, 506); *Montreal, 1535-1914*, by Dr. William Henry Atherton, in three volumes (Montreal and Chicago, S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1914, pp. xxv, 450; xxvi, 673, 686); *Pioneer Life among the Loyalist Settlements of Upper Canada*, by W. S. Herrington (Toronto, Macmillan, 1915, pp. 107); *Forty Years in Canada*, a remarkable narrative of military and police duty in the Northwest, by Major-General S. B. Steele (London, Herbert Jenkins, 1915, pp. xviii, 428); *The Beothucks or Red Indians: the Aboriginal Inhabitants of Newfoundland*, by Mr. James P. Howley, geologist of that colony (Cambridge University Press, 1914, pp. xx, 348); *The Canadian Constitution as Interpreted by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in its Judgments*, accompanied by a collection of all the pertinent decisions, by Mr. Edward R. Cameron (Winnipeg, Butterworth and Company, 1914, xiv, 825); and two important original documents in the ninth series of *Historical Documents* published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, namely, the French original of the "Mémoires de M. le Chevalier de Johnstone" (pp. 69-199) and the journal kept by Lady Durham during the important period of Lord Durham's rule in Canada (pp. 1-68).

## COMMUNICATION

### *An Ibero-American Historical Review*

TO THE MANAGING EDITOR OF *The American Historical Review*:

*Dear Sir:*

The undersigned wish to suggest to the American Historical Association, through the *Review*, that a section should be devoted at the next meeting of the Association to a discussion of the feasibility of founding an *Ibero-American Historical Review*. They believe that the publication of such a review would be, possibly, the most practical method for North American historical scholars to co-operate with the permanent Congress and the American Bibliographical Institute, which have just been established by the Congreso Americano de Bibliografía é Historia at Buenos Aires. In connection with the project to found a new historical review, the undersigned wish to make the following tentative suggestions:—

1. That the said review should be devoted to the history (political, economic, social, and diplomatic, as well as narrative) and institutions of Spain, Portugal, and the Latin-American states.
2. That it follow the general style and arrangement of the *American Historical Review*, but with more space allotted to bibliography.
3. That articles in Spanish and Portuguese be printed as well as those in English.
4. That the articles published be mainly those of such a character that they cannot find ready acceptance in the regional periodicals which already exist.
5. That members of the American Historical Association who may be interested in the project, kindly consider it before the December meeting, with special attention to its financial aspects.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON,  
CHARLES EDWARD CHAPMAN.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The thirty-third annual meeting of the American Historical Association will take place at Cincinnati, sessions being held from Wednesday morning, December 27, till Saturday noon, December 30. The annual business meeting will take place on Thursday afternoon and the presidential addresses of this society and of the American Political Science Association, which meets at the same time and place, will be delivered on Thursday evening. The usual conference of archivists will probably take place on Wednesday evening, that of state and local historical societies probably on Thursday morning. There will be meetings of sections on ancient history, on medieval history (perhaps with particular emphasis on Constantinople), on English history, on general European, and on general American history. It is planned to leave Friday evening open for dinners followed by conferences, privately arranged, for members interested in the various special fields of history. The joint session held with the American Political Science Association will relate to American colonial policy in the Philippines. Dr. James A. Robertson is to review the progress made in these islands during the last decade. The joint session held with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, on Friday afternoon, will be devoted to those phases of the history of the Middle West which relate especially to Kentucky and the neighboring states, with papers by Professor A. B. Hulbert on Ports of Entry and Delivery in the Middle West, by Professor J. A. James on Spanish Influence in the American Revolution, and by Professor James R. Robertson of Berea College on the distribution of votes according to natural geographic conditions. Three important special features will be the session of Wednesday evening, on recent phases of the European balance of power, in which the recent conflicts of alliances and the question whether the *ententes* were arranged to promote the cause of peace or to isolate Germany will be discussed by Professor Charles Seymour; a session on the great peace congresses of the nineteenth century (Vienna, Professor C. D. Hazen; Paris, Mr. W. R. Thayer; Berlin, Dr. R. H. Lord—Thursday morning), in which it is proposed to discuss not so much the acts of these congresses as their organization, methods of procedure, outstanding personalities, etc.; and finally, a discussion, on Wednesday afternoon, of the field and method of the elementary course in college history, to be carried on by brief speeches of ten, five, and three minutes.

Dr. Theodore C. Pease's *The Leveller Movement*, to which the Adams prize for 1915 was awarded, is now in press and will probably be published in November. Volume I. of the *Annual Report* for 1914, which contains the proceedings of the annual meeting at Chicago, is expected from the Government Printing Office before the end of that month. Volume II. of the same report, which is entirely devoted to a cumulative index to the *Papers and Reports* of the Association from the beginning to 1914, is nearly ready for the press. It is hoped that it will be possible to distribute it to members before next summer. The *Annual Report* for 1915, which will be in one volume and which will contain among other contributions the R. M. T. Hunter correspondence, is in press.

The last volume in the *Original Narratives* series, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, edited by Miss Louise Phelps Kellogg, is to be issued by Messrs. Scribner this autumn.

#### PERSONAL

Sir Gaston Camille Charles Maspero, who in 1880 became director of the Institute of Oriental Archaeology in Cairo and a short time later director-general of the antiquities, which position he held till 1886 and to which he returned in 1899 for fifteen years, died at Paris on June 30, at the age of seventy. The most famous of French Egyptologists, he was the author of numerous works on Egyptian archaeology and history, among which were *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient Classique* (1895-1897, 3 vols.), *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes* (1893), and *L'Archéologie Égyptienne* (latest ed., 1907). At the time of his death he was perpetual secretary of the Académie des Inscriptions.

Samuel W. Pennypacker, governor of Pennsylvania from 1903 to 1907, and for several years president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, died on September 2, at the age of seventy-three. A learned scholar, especially in the field of Pennsylvania German history, he had published several notable books of local history, especially on the early history of Germantown.

Miss Kate Mason Rowland, author of biographies of her ancestor George Mason and of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, works highly esteemed by the historical profession, died on June 28.

Wymberley Jones DeRenne, founder of the celebrated collection of books, manuscripts, and maps relating to the state of Georgia, preserved at Wormsloe, near Savannah, called the Wymberley Jones DeRenne Georgia Library, died on June 23. All his collections having been bequeathed to his son, Wymberley W. DeRenne, the latter intends that they shall be maintained and added to as heretofore. In particular, Mr. Leonard L. Mackall, who has been in charge of the library since he

entered upon the preparation of a new catalogue in March, will continue the preparation of that catalogue in an elaborate form worthy of the unusual quality of the collection. All communications should be addressed to the library, P. O. Box 1166, Savannah, Georgia.

Clarence S. Paine, secretary of the Nebraska State Historical Society since 1907, and of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association from its foundation, died on June 14, 1916, at the age of 48. Mrs. Minnie P. Knotts, formerly librarian, has provisionally been made secretary of the society, and Mrs. C. S. Paine librarian.

The seventh series of the Carpentier lectures on the history of law, at Columbia University, will be given by Mr. Harold D. Hazeltine, reader in law in the University of Cambridge, and fellow of Emmanuel College (an American scholar). His subject will be English legal history, with special reference to the sources and development of English medieval law and its bearing on modern legal growth in England and America.

Professor Robert M. McElroy of Princeton University, upon leave of absence for the academic year 1916-1917, is spending the year in China.

Mr. Frank Fritts has been made assistant professor of history and political science in Princeton University.

Dr. R. V. D. Magoffin of Johns Hopkins University has been promoted to an associate professorship of Greek and Roman history in that university.

Professor Payson J. Treat of Stanford University will this autumn give the Albert Shaw lectures in American diplomatic history at the Johns Hopkins University. His lectures will concern the early diplomatic relations between the United States and Japan.

Dr. Albert H. Lybyer of the University of Illinois has been promoted to a full professorship of history at that university.

Dr. Theodore D. Gronert of the University of Wisconsin has been made professor of history in Centre College, Danville, Ky.

Dr. Frank E. Melvin of Cornell University has been made assistant professor of modern history in the Kansas State University.

#### **GENERAL**

Professor Dutcher, who regularly supplies this journal with such items of news as are derived from French, German, and Italian periodicals, desires the explanation to be made that in the preparation of the notes for this number there has been available not a single German publication received since the July number went to press. No German periodical of later date than March 18 has come to hand. A glance at

the dates of periodicals published in other European countries, cited in the lists of noteworthy articles in this number, will show the delay both in publication and in transmission.

The Library of Congress has printed "as manuscript", in a thick volume of 633 pages, its minutely detailed classification of *Class D, Universal and Old World History*, which may be of use in the building up of the historical portions of many other libraries.

The (English) Historical Association has published, in June, its annual bulletin of historical literature for the year 1915, in a brief pamphlet which may be the more useful to American teachers from confining its attention to leading works.

The *Revue des Nations Latines* (Paris, Mignot) made its first appearance in May, under the editorial direction of Guglielmo Ferrero, Professor Julien Luchaire of Grenoble, Maurice Wilmotte, former secretary of the University of Liège, and Jean Alazard. The foreign subscription is twenty francs a year. The review is also published simultaneously in Italian at Florence.

Mr. Norman H. Baynes contributes to the second number of *History*, the quarterly edited by Professor A. F. Pollard, a study of the historical significance of Constantinople, and Miss Constantia Maxwell the first installment of an account of the Colonization of Ulster.

The April number of the *Military Historian and Economist* contains among other things the opening installment of a study entitled Lieut.-General Grant's Campaign of 1864, by Capt. Willey Howell, a paper on Economic Causes of Wars in Ancient Greece, by Professor W. S. Ferguson, read at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Washington last December, and a survey of the publications and activities of the Naval History Society for the five years of its existence. In the July number there are four historical articles: one by Professor Charles J. Bullock on Adam Smith's Views upon National Defence, one on the Raising of the Wisconsin Volunteers in 1861, by Professor Carl R. Fish, a paper read at the last meeting of the American Historical Association, a second article by Capt. Willey Howell on Grant's Campaign of 1864-1865, and the beginning of a discussion, by Capt. A. L. Conger, of Moltke's Plans of Campaign and of the reasons for their publication by the German general staff in 1897. Among the economic notes is one that amounts to an article, and is partly historical in character, on the Rail Section in Conjoint Relation to the Progress in Steam Railroad Transportation, by Mr. P. H. Dudley, consulting engineer of the New York Central lines.

In the July number of the *Journal of Negro History*, particular commendation should be given to Louis R. Mehlinger's thoroughgoing article on the Attitude of the Free Negro toward African Colonization and to Professor John H. Russell's paper on Colored Freeman as Slave-

Owners in Virginia. There is also an interesting account of the Fugitives of the *Pearl* (the episode of Drayton and Sayres, 1848) by John H. Paynter, a descendant of one of the fugitives, and a sketch of Lorenzo Dow by Benjamin Brawley. In the section devoted to documents appear some papers relating to the transplantation of free negroes to Ohio, 1815-1858, and the proceedings of a typical colonization convention held at Baltimore in 1852.

The Harvard University Press announces among its fall books *The Spiritual Interpretation of History* by Dean Shailer Mathews.

A study of *Mazzini: la Dottrina Storica* (Palermo, Reber, 1916, pp. xii, 347) is from the pen of G. Calabrò.

*The Teaching of History in Elementary Schools*, by Professor R. L. Archer, of University College, Bangor, L. V. D. Owen, of the University of Sheffield, and A. E. Chapman, of Bangor, is primarily intended for English schools but will doubtless be useful to American teachers.

Messrs. Little, Brown, and Company have brought out the first two, and will soon bring out the remainder, of the following translations in continuation of their *Continental Legal History Series*, published under the auspices of the Association of American Law Schools: *History of Germanic Private Law*, by Professor Rudolph Huebner of Rostock, translated by Professor Francis S. Philbrick of the University of California; *History of Continental Criminal Law*, by Professor Ludwig von Bar of Göttingen; *History of Continental Civil Procedure*, by Dr. Arthur Engelmann, chief justice at Breslau; *History of Italian Law*, by Professor Carlo Calisse of Rome; *History of Continental Commercial Law*, by Professor Huvelin of Lyons; and *The Evolution of Law in Europe*, by Gabriel Tarde and others.

*A Century of Progress: a Study of the Development of Public Charities and Correction, 1790-1915*, by Amos W. Butler, is the title of an illustrated volume issued by the board of state charities of Indiana.

Mr. Edwin A. Pratt's *The Rise of Rail Power in War and Conquest, 1833-1914* (Philadelphia, Lippincott), is a clearly written book of general survey, by one who is an authority in railway matters rather than in military history.

General Mennessier de la Lance has undertaken the compilation of an *Essai de Bibliographie Hippique, donnant la Description détaillée des Ouvrages publiés ou traduits en Latin et en Français sur le Cheval et la Cavalerie, avec de nombreuses Biographies d'Auteurs Hippiques*, of which the first volume (Paris, Dorbon, 1915, pp. ix, 760) extends through the letter K.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Keith, *Presidential Address: On Certain Factors concerned in the Evolution of Human Races* (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, January); H. Hauser, *Le*



*Principe des Nationalités, ses Origines Historiques* (Revue Politique Internationale, March); G. Lanson, *Le Déterminisme Historique et l'Idéalisme dans "L'Esprit des Lois"* (Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale, January); C. Barbagallo, *La Méthode Historique Allemande et l'Historiographie des Pays Latins* (Revue des Nations Latines, July 1); Hubert Hall, *National Service for Historians* (Contemporary Review, May).

#### ANCIENT HISTORY

Under arrangements which have been in force for the past few years, it is our usual custom to leave to the *History Teacher's Magazine* the reviewing of historical text-books. It is impossible, however, to permit the publication of Professor James H. Breasted's remarkable, brilliant, and finely illustrated text-book of ancient history to pass without comment. Something of its distinctive qualities may be seen from the title, *Ancient Times: a History of the Early World: an Introduction to the Study of Ancient History and the Career of Early Man* (Ginn, pp. xx, 742). It extends to the days of Constantine and, briefly, to the fall of the Western Empire.

To bring together and put into popular form the results of recent archaeological labors in the field of ancient art has been the work of Mr. Ernest A. Parkyn in *An Introduction to the Study of Prehistoric Art* (Longmans).

*Les Anciens Peuples de l'Europe* (Paris, Klincksieck, 1916) is the first volume of a projected *Collection pour l'Étude des Antiquités Nationales*, edited by Professor Camille Jullian of the College of France.

*Antiquities of Ionia*, part V., supplementary to part III., published by the Society of Dilettanti (London, Macmillan and Company) concludes a series begun in 1840. This volume consists of forty-five engravings with five helpful chapters of text by Professor Lethaby.

A. Tenne has given an account of *Kriegsschiffe zu den Zeiten der Alten Griechen und Römer* (Oldenburg, Stalling, 1915).

M. Modica has compiled a volume of *Contributi Papirologici alla Ricostruzione dell' Ordinamento dell' Egitto sotto il Dominio Greco-Romano* (Arpino, Soc. Tip. Arpinate, 1916, pp. xii, 359).

An interesting volume on *Public Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge, University Press, 1915) is by C. Boyd.

Professor Alfred J. Church's *Roman Life in the Days of Cicero* (pp. xl, 291) is published in New York by the Macmillan Company.

G. Harrer is the author of a volume of *Studies in the History of the Roman Province* (London, Milford, 1915).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Boyd Dawkins, *The Antiquity of Man and the Dawn of Art in Europe* (Edinburgh Review, July); A.

H. Sayce, *The Assyrian Empire: a Lesson in History* (Scientia, May); S. Reinach, *Découvertes en Crète* (L'Anthropologie, May); J. B. Bury, *The Trojan War* (Quarterly Review, July); A. Andréadès, *Les Finances de l'État Homérique* (Revue des Études Grecques, October, 1915); H. Peake, *Racial Elements concerned in the First Siege of Troy* (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, January); H. Welschinger, *Démosthène et les Athéniens* (Revue Hebdomadaire, June 3); G. Corradi, *La Fine del Regno di Seleuco Nicatore, I.* (Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica, April); H. S. Jones, *Land Problems in Ancient Rome* (Edinburgh Review, July); J. P. Postgate, *The Last Days of Pompeius* (Quarterly Review, July); E. Guimet, *Les Isiaques de la Gaule* (Revue Archéologique, March); V. G. Simkhovitch, *Rome's Fall Reconsidered* (Political Science Quarterly, June).

#### MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General review: E. Jordan, *Histoire Ecclésiastique, Moyen Âge* (Revue Historique, July).

G. Montelatici has published a *Storia della Letteratura Bizantina, 324-1453* (Milan, Hoepli, 1916), which treats the subject in three periods divided by the years 640 and 1080.

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Macmillan Company has published in two volumes a *Political and Social History of Modern Europe* by Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes of Columbia University, a college text-book in which increasing emphasis is given to the history of the civilization of modern Europe in the more recent periods.

The thesis of Dr. V. Sténio is on *La Capitulation de 1535, Étude d'Histoire Diplomatique et de Droit* (Paris, Rousseau, 1915, pp. vii, 267).

The relations between France and England since the sixteenth century are surveyed by J. L. de Lanessan in *Histoire de l'Entente Cordiale Franco-Anglaise* (Paris, Alcan, 1916).

The *Correspondance Diplomatique* (Paris, Plon, 1915, pp. lxx, 605) of the Comte de Montaigu, French ambassador at Venice from 1743 to 1749, has recently been published.

Messrs. A. and C. Black of London publish *Europe in the Nineteenth Century: an Outline History*, by Mr. E. Lipson of Trinity College, Cambridge, whose *Introduction to the Economic History of England* was recently reviewed in these pages.

The period from May 4 to July 10, 1866, is covered in the ninth and tenth volumes of *Les Origines Diplomatiques de la Guerre de 1870-1871* (Paris, Ficker, 1915). These volumes have peculiar interest as they relate to the outbreak of the Seven Weeks' War and the campaign of Sadowa.

Professor E. Debidour has undertaken to continue his well-known *Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe* from the Congress of Berlin to the present. The volume on *La Paix Armée, 1878-1904* (Paris, Alcan, 1916) has already appeared and the volume for the decade 1904-1913 is announced as in press.

English colonial activities are dealt with in the first volume of *Storia Coloniale dell'Epoca Contemporanea* (Florence, Barbèra, 1916, pp. 810), by G. Mondaini.

The London house of Hugh Rees has published in two volumes, with maps, a translation of *The Japanese in Manchuria*, a valuable study, by Col. E. L. V. Cordonnier, formerly professor at the École Supérieure de Guerre in Paris.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Martin, *La Diplomatie Occidentale à Constantinople au Quinzième Siècle* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXIX. 5); F. Rocquain, *Les Espagnols en France sous Henri IV.: le Roi et la Nation* (Revue Hebdomadaire, April 15); J. Mathorez, *Les Espagnols et la Crise Nationale Française à la Fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Bulletin Hispanique, April); E. Griselle, *La Diplomatie Française et les Aïeux du Premier Roi de Prusse* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXX. 1); C. de la Roncière, *Guerre de Candie: l'Intervention Française, 1646-1669* (Revue des Études Historiques, April); X., *La France et l'Espagne à la Fin du Ministère Choiseul* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXIX. 5); J. Mathorez, *La Pénétration des Allemands en France sous l'Ancien Régime*, III. (Revue des Études Historiques, April); A. H. Stockder, *The Legality of the Blockades instituted by Napoleon's Decrees and the British Orders in Council, 1806-1813* (American Journal of International Law, July); O. Karmin, *Les Finances Russes en 1812 et la Mission de Sir Francis d'Ivernois à Saint-Petersbourg*, I. (Revue Historique de la Révolution Française et de l'Empire, October, 1915); L. de Lanzac de Laborie, *Un Témoin du Congrès de Vienne, 1814-1815* [Eynard] (Revue Hebdomadaire, April 22); A. Chuquet, *J.-G. Eynard au Congrès de Vienne* (Revue des Études Historiques, April); E. Chapuisat, *La France au Secours de la Grèce, d'après la Correspondance de G. Eynard* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, July); A. Chuquet, *Les Prussiens à Paris en 1815* (Revue Hebdomadaire, May 13); T. H. S. Escott, *The Beginning of the Anglo-French Alliance* (Contemporary Review, June); J. L. de Lanessan, *The Entente Cordiale* (ibid., May); H. Marczali, *Polonais et Hongrois devant l'Histoire* (Revue Politique Internationale, March).

#### THE GREAT WAR

General review: E. Driault, *Constitution de l'Histoire Scientifique de la Grande Guerre*, II. (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, July).

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One of the earliest attempts at a scientific study of the present war is *Les Conditions de la Guerre Moderne* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1916) by General Bonnal, a former head of the École de Guerre.

*The Deeper Causes of the War*, by Émile Hovelague, translated from the French by the author, has a preface by Sir Walter Raleigh (George Allen and Unwin).

*German, Slav, and Magyar: a Study in the Origins of the Great War*, by R. W. Seton-Watson, has been published recently in London by Messrs. Williams and Norgate.

*Nelson's History of the War*, by John Buchan, has reached in vol. XIII. an account of the fall of Erzerum and the first battle of Verdun.

In addition to continuations of works noted in earlier numbers mention may be made of the following attempts to furnish continued histories of the war. The *Recueil des Communiqués Officiels des Gouvernements et États-Majors de tous les Belligérants relatifs à la Guerre* (Paris, Payot, 1916) is done from the actual texts, with French translations from the other languages. The numbers are prepared and published by Swiss, as a guarantee of their precision. Twelve numbers have appeared extending through February, 1915. The sixth series of *Tablettes Chronologiques de la Guerre* (Paris, Larousse) extends to March 31, 1916, and is illustrated with maps and views. Jean-Bernard has begun an *Histoire Générale et Anecdotique de la Guerre de 1914-1916* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916, pp. 500, 124 illus.) with a volume on the first weeks of the war.

The fifth volume of J. Reinach's articles in the *Figaro* entitled *Les Commentaires de Polybe* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1916, pp. xi, 422) has appeared, completing the year 1915. The second volume of *L'Allemagne contre l'Europe* (Paris, Perrin, 1916) contains the articles down to the beginning of the present year by Francis Charmes, the late editor of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. The war articles by Gustave Hervé in *La Guerre Sociale* have appeared in four volumes bearing the successive titles: *La Patrie en Danger*, *Après la Marne*, *La Muraille*, and *Jusqu'à la Victoire* (Paris, Quignon), extending to August, 1915. Four volumes are announced, of which one is in print, containing the brilliant articles of Charles Maurras, under the title *Devant l'Ennemi: les Conditions de la Victoire* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale). The volume which has appeared has the subtitle *Ministère et Parlement* and covers the last months of 1915. Charles Maurras has also published *Quand les Français ne s'Aimaient pas, Chronique d'une Renaissance, 1895-1905* (*ibid.*, 1916, pp. 420).

The monthly numbers of the *Diario della Guerra d'Italia raccolta dei Bullettini Ufficiali* (Milan, Treves) contain the daily bulletins of the Italian general staff, important official documents, speeches by members of the government, and news relating to both Italy and the general

European war, illustrated with portraits and maps. The eighth number of this, the best of the Italian publications of the sort, appeared on May 15, 1916. A similar collection in popular form consisting of general staff bulletins and official communications to the press, illustrated with maps, is *Il Diario della Nostra Guerra* (Milan, Ravà) of which the twelfth number was dated June 3, 1916. Under the patronage of the Italian general staff the publication of a history of *La Guerra* (Milan, Treves) in monthly volumes in Italian, French, Spanish, and English editions has been begun. The June volume dealt with the war in the Alps, the July number with the campaign for the Carso, and the August number with aviation. Four issues have appeared of *La Guerra Europea e particolarmente la Guerra d'Italia* (Milan, Vallardi); twenty of *La Più Grande Guerra* (Sesto S. Giovanni, Soc. Ed. Milanese); and thirty-three of *La Guerra d'Italia* (*ibid.*), by G. Pattini.

The relations of Italy to the war are discussed in W. N. Doerkes, *Das Ende des Dreibunds, nach Diplomatischen Aktenstücken und Quellen* (Berlin, Mittler, 1916, pp. 142). E. J. Dillon, the well-known English publicist, has written *From the Triple to the Quadruple Alliance: Why Italy Went to War* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1915, pp. 256). A second volume of *Legislazione di Guerra del Regno d'Italia* (Modena, Del Re, 1915, pp. vii, 205) contains the laws on economic and social relations from January to June, 1915. The early stages of *La Battaglia di Gorizia* (Milan, Treves, 1916, pp. xi, 159) have been recorded by B. Astori.

*La Guerre et l'Italie*, by Jacques Bainville (Paris, Fayard), is an attempt to make plain the motives which have guided Italy's course during the last two years.

*L'Italie en Guerre*, by H. Charriaut and M. L. Amici-Grossi (Flammarion), studies the evolution of the political situation in Italy, the military operations of Italy, and the place which is to be Italy's in the future.

Messrs. Methuen have announced a volume entitled *The Great War: the Land Operations, 1914-1916*, by Maj. G. W. Redway.

Among the later discussions by French writers of the problems involved in the war are A. Chéradame, *Le Plan Pangermaniste Démasqué* (Paris, Plon, 1916), and A. de Pourville, *Jusqu'au Rhin, les Terres Meurtriés et les Terres Promises* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916).

French readers have been enlightened concerning England's share in the war by J. Destrée, *L'Effort Britannique, Contribution de l'Angleterre à la Guerre Européenne, Août 1914-Février 1916* (Paris, Van Oest, 1916, pp. xii, 277); by A. Chevrillon, *L'Angleterre et la Guerre* (Paris, Hachette, 1916); and by C. Cestre, *L'Angleterre et la Guerre* (Paris, Didier, 1916).

Several deliberate studies of the French and Belgian campaigns have appeared, including Joseph Reinach, *La Guerre sur le Front Occidental, Étude Stratégique, 1914-1915* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1916); P. Fabreguettes, *Les Batailles de la Marne, 4-15 Septembre 1914* (Étampes, Terrier, 1916, pp. 123), reprinted from *La Grande Revue*; C. Le Goffic, *Steenstraete et Saint-Georges* (Paris, Plon, 1916), continuing the account of the Fusiliers Marins begun in his *Dixmude*, which is now in its 78th edition; L. Bocquet and E. Hosten, *L'Agonie de Dixmude* (Paris, Talandier, 1916); and H. Dugard, *La Bataille de Verdun, 21 Février-7 Mai 1916* (Paris, Perrin, 1916).

"Hubert F. . . ." has attempted to furnish a history of the maritime portion of the war down to the battle off Jutland in *La Guerre Navale: Mer du Nord, Mers Lointaines* (Paris, Payot, 1916). Some account of the marvellous *Fahrten der Goeben und der Breslau* (Berlin, Fischer, 1916) has been given by Emil Ludwig.

The *Collection des Mémoires et Récits de Guerre* (Paris, Hachette) contains G. Riou, *Journal d'un Simple Soldat, Guerre, Captivité*; J. Léry, *La Bataille dans la Forêt, Argonne, 1915*; M. Gènevoix, *Sous Verdun, Août-Octobre 1914*; and V. Boudon, *Avec Charles Péguy, de la Lorraine à la Marne, Août-Septembre 1914*. Other French memoir volumes are J. Roujon, *Carnet de Route, Août 1914-Janvier 1915* (Paris, Plon, 1916); M. d'Hartoy, *Au Front, Impressions et Souvenirs d'un Officier Blessé* (Paris, Perrin, 1916); A. Dauzat, *Impressions et Choses Vues, Juillet-Décembre 1914* (Paris, Attinger, 1916); and Lobbedey, bishop of Arras, *La Guerre en Artois* (Paris, Téqui, 1916, pp. xxii, 512).

Several accounts of experiences of French prisoners of war in Germany have appeared: C. Hennebois, *Aux Mains de l'Allemagne, Journal d'un Grand Blessé* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. xii, 301); Capitaine Olivier, *Onze Mois de Captivité dans les Hôpitaux Allemands* (Paris, Chapelot, 1916); Abbé A. Aubry, *Ma Captivité en Allemagne* (Paris, Perrin, 1916, pp. viii, 167); A. Warnod, *Prisonnier de Guerre, Notes et Croquis rapportés d'Allemagne* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1915, pp. 188); "Un Prêtre de la Société des Missions Étrangères, Infirmier Militaire", *Prisonnier des Allemands* (Paris, Lethielleux, 1915, pp. vii, 160); and J. F. Batteler, *Les Étapes et l'Évasion d'un Prisonnier Civil en Allemagne* (Paris, Attinger, 1916, pp. 160).

A double number, III.-IV., of *Documents Officiels relatifs à la Guerre, Rapports et Procès-Verbaux d'Enquête de la Commission instituée en vue de constater les Crimes commis par l'Ennemi en Violation du Droit des Gens, Décret du 23 Septembre 1914* (Paris, Hachette, 1916) has been issued recently.

Two volumes of very different character but both dealing with English prisoners and prison camps in Germany are *The Horrors of Wittenberg*, the second edition of the official report to the British govern-

ment, and *The Story of a Prisoner of War*, by Arthur Green, no. 6646, 1st Somerset Light Infantry (Chatto and Windus).

Colored photographs by Gervais-Courtellemont of *Les Champs de Bataille de la Marne* (Paris, L'Édition Française Illustrée, 1916) have been published. Three volumes of *À Coups de Baïonnette* (Paris, *ibid.*) have appeared containing views and drawings from *La Baïonnette*. A series of volumes entitled *Le Panorama de la Guerre, 1914-1916* (Paris, Tallandier) extends to the close of 1915 in the third volume.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Boutroux, *L'Allemagne et la Guerre*, II. (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 15); J. Reinach, *La Bataille de la Marne* (Revue Hebdomadaire, May 20); Baron Saillard, *Autour d'Ypres, Mai 1915* (Revue de Paris, June 15); H. Bidou, *Le Front Britannique et les Fronts Voisins* (Revue des Deux Mondes, July 1); H. Bidou, *La Bataille de Verdun* (*ibid.*, May 1); G. Caprin, *La Guerre Italienne sur l'Isonzo, Juin-Décembre 1915* (Revue des Nations Latines, May 1, June 1); Général Malleterre, *La Guerre dans le Levant, Salonique, Erzeroum, Trébizonde, Bagdad* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1); C. Ferrand, *Réflexions sur les Opérations Maritimes* (Revue Hebdomadaire, April 22); Contre-Amiral Degouy, *La Sortie de la Flotte Allemande* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 15); *id.*, *La Bataille Navale du 31 Mai* (*ibid.*, July 1); . . ., *La Question des Transports* (Revue de Paris, July 15); H. E. Clouzot, *Disparus et Prisonniers: l'Agence Internationale des Prisonniers de Guerre à Genève* (Mercure de France, June 1); F. Meda, *La Conferenza Parlamentare Internazionale del Commercio* (Nuova Antologia, May 16).

#### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

General review: C. Bémont, *Histoire de Grande Bretagne* (Revue Historique, July).

Longmans, Green, and Company have published a general index to the *English Historical Review*, vols. XXI. to XXX., edited by Reginald L. Poole.

A. C. Fox-Davies has issued a new and greatly enlarged edition of *The Book of Public Arms, a Complete Encyclopaedia of all Royal, Territorial, Municipal, Corporate, Official, and Impersonal Arms* (London, Jack, 1915, pp. xx, 876). In spite of its comprehensive title the volume relates mainly to England, though a few colonial and foreign arms are included.

Sir Henry H. Howorth's *The Golden Days of the Early English Church*, in three volumes, to be published before long by Murray in London and by Dutton in New York, will complete the series of which *St. Gregory the Great* and *St. Augustine of Canterbury*, by the same author, were the first parts.

*The English Civil Service in the Fourteenth Century* is a lecture delivered by Professor T. F. Tout at the John Rylands Library.



*England's First Great War Minister* is the title of a study of the activities of Wolsey in 1513, by Mr. Ernest Law. The book is soon to be published by Messrs. George Bell and Sons.

*Notes on the Bishopric of Worcester, 1547-1559*, by Mr. James Davenport (Worcester, E. G. Humphreys), is the result of an effort to place the contents of the episcopal records of Worcester at the service of students.

The Clarendon Press is publishing, in two volumes, a collection having almost the character of a Shakespeare encyclopedia, entitled *Shakespeare's England: an Account of the Life and Manners of his Age*, prepared by thirty-seven authors, dealing with a wide variety of topics in Elizabethan history, especially such as relate to Shakespeare's themes and text, and elaborately illustrated.

The Oxford University Press has published *Sir Walter Raleigh: Selections from his "History of the World", Letters and Other Writings*, with notes and an introduction by G. E. Hadon.

The Cambridge University Press has published an essay on *The Navy of the Restoration*, by Arthur W. Tedder. The volume contains chapters on the Navy before the Restoration, the Stuart Restoration, Administration, the Mediterranean and the Second Dutch War, and an extensive bibliography.

The Scottish History Society has published volume II. of its second series, *Origins of the 'Forty-Five*, edited by Dr. Walter B. Laikie, and containing a great variety of papers relating to that rising, derived from Scottish manuscripts and from the archives of Paris and Rome.

*The War Diary of a London Scot, 1796-1797*, edited by W. C. Mackenzie (London, A. Gardner), recounts the daily life in London of G. M. Macaulay, a cousin of Lord Macaulay and a successful city merchant at the time this journal was written.

In *The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation* Monsignor Bernard Ward brings his history of English Catholicism down to the year 1850 in the same excellent manner as that in which the work on the earlier volumes, *The Dawn of the Catholic Revival* and *The Eve of Catholic Emancipation*, was done.

Mr. John Murray announces as forthcoming *Parliamentary Reminiscences and Reflections, 1868-1885*, by Lord George Hamilton; the fifth and concluding volume of Messrs. Monypenny and Buckle's *Life of Benjamin Disraeli* (to be published in New York by Macmillan); the *Life of the Right Honorable Sir Charles Dilke*, in two volumes, edited by Miss Gertrude Tuckwell; and *The Public Life of the First Marquis of Ripon*, edited by Lucien Wolf.

*The Life and Letters of Sir John Henniker Heaton, Bart.*, by his daughter, Mrs. Adrian Porter, has been published by Mr. John Lane.

*Forty Years' Reminiscences of the Cotton Market: the American War Time and After*, by P. E. J. Hemelryk, one of the oldest members of the Liverpool Cotton Association, consists of a lecture delivered in 1899.

Dr. Samuel Daiches's *Lord Kitchener and his Work in Palestine* (London, Luzac and Company, 1915, pp. 88) aims to study not so much the archaeological importance of the work done in Palestine in the four years in which Kitchener had charge of it as the character of the man who was doing it, and the qualities displayed thus early in his career.

*The Irish Orators*, by Mr. Claude G. Bowers (Bobbs-Merrill Company), consists of studies of the careers of nine of Ireland's political leaders, from 1759 to the time of Parnell. John Howard Parnell, a brother of Charles, has also written a study of the career of his brother which has been published by Messrs. Constable.

Two accounts of the recent Irish rebellion which have already appeared are, *The Irish Rebellion, What Happened and Why*, by F. A. McKenzie (London, Pearson), and *The Irish Rebellion of 1916*, by John F. Boyle (Constable). A still more popular account is that of Mrs. Hamilton Norway, wife of the secretary of the post-office in Ireland, entitled *The Sinn Fein Rebellion as I saw it* (Smith, Elder).

The Macmillan Company is issuing, in a fourth, revised and enlarged edition (third in the case of volume III.), the first three volumes of Dr. George McCall Theal's *History of South Africa from 1795 to 1872*, to be completed in five volumes.

British government publications: *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III.*, 1242-1247; *Calendar of the Charter Rolls*, vol. V., 15 Edward III.-5 Henry V., 1341-1417; *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, vol. XXI., 1628-1629, ed. A. B. Hinds; *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. VII., parts I., II., III., 1681-1685, ed. William A. Shaw; *Calendar of the Stuart Papers*, vol. VI., March 1-June 3, 1718 (Historical Manuscripts Commission); *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I., *Governor's Despatches to and from England*, vol. VI., Aug., 1806-Dec., 1808.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Constant, *L'Histoire Religieuse d'Angleterre depuis le Schisme jusqu'à nos Jours*, II., *L'Angleterre après la Réforme* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXIX. 5); Susan M. Lough, *Trade and Industry in Ireland in the Sixteenth Century* (Journal of Political Economy, July); R. C. Wilton, *Letters of a Jesuit Father in the Reign of George I.* (Dublin Review, April); R. H. Murray, *Humbert's Invasion of Ireland in 1798*, II. (Nineteenth Century and After, July); H. J. Laski, *The Political Theory of the Disruption* [Scotland, 1843] (American Political Science Review, August); Lord Cromer, *Disraeli* (Edinburgh Review, July); H. J. Fleure and T. C. James, *Geographical Distribution of Anthropological Types in Wales* (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, January).

## FRANCE

General review: H. Froidevaux, *Histoire Coloniale de la France depuis l'Époque de Napoléon I<sup>er</sup>* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, May).

A new volume of the *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France* contains the *Commentaires de la Faculté de Médecine de l'Université de Paris, 1395-1516, publiés avec Introduction et Notes* (Paris, Leroux, 1915, pp. xcvi, 571) by Dr. Ernest Wickersheimer, the librarian of the Académie de Médecine.

*The Century of the Renaissance* (London, Heinemann, 1916, pp. xxvii, 428) by Louis Batiffol, translated by Elsie F. Buckley, is the second in order but the first published of six volumes entitled *The National History of France*, edited by F. Funck-Brentano. The volume on the Middle Ages is to be written by M. Funck-Brentano; on the seventeenth century by J. Boulenger; on the eighteenth century by C. Stryenski; and the two on the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods by Louis Madelin.

A volume of *Notes du Premier Président Pellot sur la Normandie—Clergé, Gentilhommes, Officiers de Justice, 1670-1683* (Paris, Picard, 1915, pp. xxxiv, 400) throws some interesting light on provincial life and administration under Louis XIV. Other phases are shown in *La Vie Temporelle des Communautés de Femmes à Rennes au XVII<sup>e</sup> et au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècles* (Paris, Champion, 1916), by B. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé.

Dr. André Blum has recently presented at the Sorbonne two interesting theses: *L'Estampe Satirique en France pendant les Guerres de Religion, Essai sur les Origines de la Caricature Politique* (Paris, Giard and Brière, 1916, pp. 365), and *Le Caricature Révolutionnaire, 1789 à 1795* (Paris, Jouve, 1916, pp. 233). The volumes are no doubt incomplete, and perhaps open to criticism in their method, but they are praiseworthy efforts to deal with neglected fields of study.

A definitive edition of *The Political Writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau, edited from the Original Manuscripts and Authentic Editions with Introduction and Notes* (Cambridge University Press, 1915, 2 vols., pp. xix, 516, 577) has been published by C. E. Vaughan. *La Religion de J.-J. Rousseau* (Paris, Hachette, 1916), by P. M. Masson, consists of three volumes, *La Formation Religieuse de Rousseau*, *La "Profession de Foi" de Jean-Jacques*, and *Rousseau et la Restauration Religieuse*. This work had been prepared for presentation as a doctoral thesis at the Sorbonne, but the author was killed in battle before he could obtain leave for the purpose. The unusual action was taken by the authorities of the Sorbonne, a few weeks after the author's death, of formally conducting the exercise of "sustaining" the thesis and voting the degree with honor. Professor Masson had held the chair of French literature in the University of Fribourg, Switzerland.

Among recent volumes on the local history of France at the close of the eighteenth century are: M. Bernard, *La Municipalité de Brest de 1750 à 1790* (Paris, Champion, 1915, pp. 368); Abbé J. B. Branchereau, *La Paroisse de Bouguenais [Loire-Inférieure] pendant la Révolution, 1790-1800* (Vannes, Lafolye, 1916, pp. 346); and H. Labroue, *La Société Populaire de Bergerac* (Paris, Rieder, 1916), the latest volume of the publications of the Société de l'Histoire de la Révolution Française.

The Commission de Recherche et de Publication des Documents relatifs à la Vie Économique de la Révolution has issued *Les Contributions Directes, Instruction, Recueil de Textes, et Notes* (Paris, Leroux, 1915, pp. 1178). The volume has apparently been edited by Camille Bloch. The instructions for editors adopted by the commission fill fourteen pages, and about forty pages are devoted to an introductory survey of the legislation and administration, but the bulk of the volume is occupied by the texts of all important laws and decrees on direct taxes from June 17, 1789, to September 15, 1807, and a calendar of the less important measures, a total of 787 items. The volume is obviously of great usefulness for the study of the finances of the Revolution and the early Napoleonic period.

An account of the French national anthem and of its author is furnished in a competent manner by J. Tiersot in his *Histoire de la Marseillaise* (Paris, Delagrave, 1916, pp. 152).

M. Édouard Driault has outlined one of the critical problems of French foreign relations in *La République et le Rhin* (Paris, Tenin, 1916). He has still more recently published *Les Traditions Politiques de la France et les Conditions de la Paix* (Paris, Alcan, 1916). On the question of the Rhine frontier there is also a highly interesting pamphlet by Professor C. Jullian on *Le Rhin Gaulois* (Paris, Attinger, 1916, pp. 52) in which the author disclaims any contemporary motive.

A study of *Napoleon und Moreau in ihren Plänen für den Feldzug von 1800* (Berlin, Trenkel, 1915) is by Mette.

The volume of *Essais Historiques et Biographiques* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. x, 316) by L. de Lanzac de Laborie contains essays on the year 1814 and on Frédéric Ozanam, Falloux, Amédée Madelin, Albert Sorel, and Paul Thureau-Dangin.

Some account of *L'Administration des Départements Envahis en 1870-1871* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916) has been prepared by Dr. E. Chantriot.

Théodore Reinach has published two volumes entitled *Au Parlement, 1906-1914: Discours, Propositions de Loi, Rapports Parlementaires* (Paris, Hachette, 1916), of which the first deals with fiscal and budgetary matters, and the second with education, electoral reform, and social and miscellaneous questions.

Judith Cladel has written a biographical account of the late defender of Paris and minister of war, *Le Général Gallieni* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916, pp. xii, 134). While special interest attaches to his high offices and brilliant services during his last two years, it should be remembered that the great work of Gallieni was done in the Sudan, in Tonkin, and especially in Madagascar. The present French premier, Aristide Briand, is the subject of a biographical study under the curious title *L'Apaisement* (Paris, Grasset, 1916).

Vicomte Maurice de Lestrangé has issued three volumes of documents on *La Question Religieuse en France pendant la Guerre de 1914-1915* of which the latest (Paris, Lethielleux, 1915, pp. 187) covers the first three months of 1915.

Interesting phases of the French activities in Morocco are revealed in *Vingt-six Mois au Maroc, Historique de la 7<sup>e</sup> Compagnie du 1<sup>er</sup> Régiment de Tirailleurs Algériens du Mois de Novembre 1907 au Mois de Novembre 1913* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1916, pp. 146), by Commandant Pierrat.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Lot, *La Loire, l'Aquitaine, et la Seine de 862 à 866, Robert le Fort* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, November); L. Bréhier, *L'Histoire de France à la Façade de la Cathédrale de Reims* (Revue Historique, July); F. Aubert, *Nouvelles Recherches sur le Parlement de Paris, Période d'Organisation, 1250-1350, I.* (Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger, January); J. Flach, *Le Retour de l'Alsace à la France sous Louis XIV.* (Revue Hebdomadaire, May 6); F. Brunot, *La Langue Française en Alsace après l'Annexion à la France* (Revue de Paris, June 1); J. Régny, *Les Prodomes de la Révolution dans l'Ardèche et le Gard: une Relation Inédite de la Révolte des Masques Armés dans le Bas-Vivarais pendant les Années 1782-1783* (Revue Historique de la Révolution Française et de l'Empire, October, 1915); G. Rouanet, *Les Débuts du Parlementarisme Français* (Annales Révolutionnaires, March); A. Mathiez, *Sur la Formation de la Légende Dantonienne, Documents Inédits* (Revue Historique, July); A. Mathiez, *Fabre d'Eglantine, Inventeur de la Conspiration de l'Étranger* (Annales Révolutionnaires, May); *id.*, *Danton, Talon, Pitt, et la Mort de Louis XVI.* (*ibid.*); L. Gauthier, *Les Municipalités Cantonales et la Tradition Révolutionnaire* (La Révolution Française, May); A. Blanqui, *Souvenirs d'un Lycéen de 1814, II.* (Revue de Paris, May 1); P. Gaffarel, *La Terreur Blanche à Marseille dans les Derniers Mois de 1815* (Revue Historique, July); G. Weill, *L'Alsace de 1848 à 1870* (Revue de Paris, July 15); A. Thiers, *Plan de Mise en État de Défense de Paris, 2 Septembre 1870* (*ibid.*); *La Correspondance de M. Thiers pendant la Guerre de 1870-1871, I.-II.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, June 15, July 1); P. Vidal de la Blache, *Exode et Immigration en Alsace-Lorraine* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, June 15).

## ITALY AND SPAIN

General review: C. Rinaudo, *Risorgimento Italiano, 1815-1916* (Rivista Storica Italiana, July).

Among recent documentary publications in Italian history the following may be enumerated: P. Fournier, *Un Groupe de Recueils Canoniques Italiens des X<sup>e</sup> et XI<sup>e</sup> Siècles* (Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1915, pp. 123); A. Solmi, *Le Leggi più Antiche del Comune di Piacenza* (Florence, Tip. Galileiana, 1916, pp. 81); G. Cimorelli, *Gli Antichi Statuti della Città di Venafrò* (Campobasso, Colitti, 1916, pp. 136); P. Cenci, *Carte e Diplomi di Gubbio, 900-1200* (Perugia, Tip. Coop. Unione, 1915, pp. 394); V. Balzano, *Documenti per la Storia di Castel di Sangro* (Città di Castello, Lapi, 1915, pt. I, pp. 123); the third volume of the *Chartularium Studii Bononiensis; Documenti per la Storia della Università di Bologna* (Imola, Galeati, 1916, pp. 318); and the seventh volume of the *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum* (Rome, Accademia dei Lincei, 1915, pp. 583), which relates to the Veneto.

The British Museum has completed part 4 of its *Catalogue of Books printed in the Fifteenth Century now in the British Museum*, dealing with Italy. The volume contains an introduction by Mr. Alfred W. Pollard and has been prepared under his supervision.

F. Savio has prepared a monograph on *Saluzzo, Marchesato e Diocesi nel Secolo XVII*. (Saluzzo, Lobetti-Bodoni, 1915, pp. 255).

P. L. Levati, who has published several works on Genoa in the eighteenth century, has issued the third volume of *I Dogi di Genova e Vita Genovese* (Genoa, Tip. della Gioventù, 1915). The first and second volumes related to the years 1699-1746; the present one relates to the years 1746-1771. The work is divided into two parts, biographical accounts of the doges and descriptions of Genoese affairs and conditions.

A volume entitled *L'Archivio Storico Italiano e l'Opera Cinquantenaria della Regia Diputazione Toscana di Storia Patria* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1916, pp. iv, 377) contains accounts of this review and of this commission by F. Baldasseroni and A. Panella respectively, and of G. P. Vieusseux, the originator of both, by G. Rondoni. There is also a volume commemorating *Il Primo Cinquantenario della R. Diputazione di Storia Patria per le Province di Romagna, 1860-1910* (Bologna, Stab. Poligr. Emiliano, 1916, pp. viii, 228).

Interesting personal reminiscences of the Garibaldian campaign of 1866 are given by G. Mariani in *Sulle Balze del Tirolo: Storia aneddotica illustrata del 2 Battaglione Bersaglieri Volontari durante la Campagna del 1866* (Lugano, Veladini, 1915). Several of the battle-scenes bear the names of those of 1915-1916, for the Italians have been reconquering to-day territory which they had already won in 1866 and which a premature peace then forced them to restore to Austria.

The *Almanacco Italiano del 1916* (Florence, Bemporad, 1916, pp. 593, xxii) contains an account of the events of 1915, lists of Italian officials, and a wealth of other useful information regarding present-day Italy.

Among the pamphlets published with the purpose of arousing Italy to intervention the most important series was that issued under the general title, *Problemi Italiani* (Milan, Ravà e C.). They relate to Italy's unredeemed territory, to her interests in the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, to the war of 1866, etc., and have been written by well-known authorities: Professor Gaetano Salvemini, Ugo Ojetti, G. A. Borghese, Mario Alberti, and others. The publication was announced as weekly, the first number appearing on January 2, 1915, and the twenty-fourth and last on July 19, 1915. Another important collection was that issued semi-monthly by *L'Ora Presente* (Turin) under the title *I Problemi Attuali*, of which the first number appeared on December 5, 1914, and the twelfth and last on May 10, 1915. This collection relates exclusively to unredeemed Italian territory held by Austria. In opposition to these publications, a group of neutralists, several of whom had German or Austrian wives and family connections, edited another series entitled *La Guerra e l'Italia*, which appeared weekly in ten numbers from February 25 to April 29, 1915. This latter series included among its contributors such distinguished writers as Benedetto Croce, Domenico Gnoli, Giacomo Barzellotti, and Alessandro Chiappelli. All the pamphlets in these three series were sold for two cents (ten centimes) a number; they are purely Italian in character and their publication was untainted by foreign subsidies or foreign influence.

The volume of *Correspondencia Diplomática entre Granada y Fez, Siglo XIV.*, extractos de la "*Raihana Alcuttab*" de Lisaneddi Abenaljatib El-Andalosi (Granada, *El Defensor*, 1916, pp. xiii, 444) contains the Arab text with Spanish translation by M. G. Remiro.

E. Díaz Jiménez y Molleda has written a *Historia de los Comuneros de León y de su Influencia en el Movimiento General de Castilla* (Madrid, *Clásica Española*, 1916, pp. 240).

M. Pascual de Quinto has compiled *La Nobleza de Aragón, Historia de la Real Maestranza de Caballería de Zaragoza* (Saragossa, Carra, 1916, pp. 1170).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Baguenault de Puchesse, *Un Diplomat Florentin au Temps de Machiavel, François Vettori, 1474-1539* (*Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, XXIX. 5); M. Scherillo, *Gli Ultimi Anni di Niccolò Machiavelli* (*Nuova Antologia*, May 1); A. Favaro, *La Condanna di Galileo e le sue Conseguenze per il Progresso degli Studi* (*Scientia*, July); . . . *Il Governo Provvisorio degli Stati Pontificii nell' Anno 1815 e lo Statuto del 1816* (*Civiltà Cattolica*, May 20); S. Piat, *La Crise Nationale Italienne de la Neutralité à l'Ultima-*



tum, Août 1914-Mai 1915 (Revue des Sciences Politiques, June 15); J. Alazard, *La Crise Italienne, Août 1914-Mai 1915* (Revue de Paris, May); L. Bertrand, *L'Italie après un An de Guerre*, I. (Revue des Deux Mondes, July 1); J. Alazard, *Les Socialistes Italiens et la Guerre* (Revue Hebdomadaire, June 17); E. Ciccotti, *Le Parti Socialiste Officiel Italien et la Guerre* (Revue des Nations Latines, June 1); A. Mousset, *L'Espagne et la Guerre: la Politique du Comte Romanones* (Revue des Nations Latines, May 1).

#### GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Sir Adolphus William Ward, Master of Peterhouse, has published in the *Cambridge Historical Series* the first volume (1815-1852), of a history of *Germany, 1815-1890* (Cambridge University Press, pp. 591), which we must expect to be of the highest merit.

Ernest Daudet has published a volume on Bismarck (Paris, Attinger, 1915, pp. 288) as the first of three on *Les Auteurs de la Guerre de 1914*, which, taken together, are intended to furnish a carefully documented account of recent European history. Professor Henri Hauser has issued a revised third edition of *Les Méthodes Allemandes d'Expansion Économique* (Paris, Colin, 1916).

The German writer, Hermann Fernau, has supplemented and followed up the famous anonymous publication *J'Accuse*, with *Précisément parce que Je suis Allemand* (Paris, Payot, 1916), of which the original edition was published in Zürich. The volume deals especially with the proofs of Teutonic aggression as the cause of the present war.

The records of the University of Padua from 1264 to 1864 are used in the first volume of *Matricula et Acta Hungarorum in Universitatibus Italiae Studentium* (Vienna, Hölder, 1915), edited by A. Veress.

The history of the Czechs is depicted in *Détruisez l'Autriche-Hongrie* by Edward Benes (Delagrave), in presenting an appeal for the dismemberment of Austro-Hungary.

The *Storia di Trieste dell' Epoca Romana alla Guerra di Rivendicazione* (Florence, Bemporad, 1916, pp. 115) by G. Senizza; and *Trieste durante l'Ultimo Periodo di Dominazione Austriaca, dal 24 Maggio 1914 al 24 Maggio 1915* (Rome, Tip. Romana, 1916, pp. 124) by A. Minutillo, are evidences of current Italian interest and ambition with regard to that city.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Commandant Weil, *La Morale Politique du Grand Frédéric d'après sa Correspondance*, I. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXX. 1); E. Müsebeck, *E. M. Arndt in den Politischen Strömungen nach den Freiheitskriegen* (Deutsche Rundschau, March); J. Krauter, *Die Politik Oesterreichs im Griechischen Freiheitskampfe, 1822-1829, nach den Briefen des Hofrates von Gentz an Franz Freiherrn von Ottenfels* (ibid., March); E. Laloy, *De Clause-*

witz à Hindenburg: *Étude sur le Développement des Doctrines Stratégiques et Tactiques dans l'Armée Prussienne et sur la Préparation de la Guerre de 1914-1916* (Mercure de France, June 16); W. D. Green, *The German Colonial Empire: its Rise and Fall* (National Review, July); T. F. A. Smith, *German War Literature* (Contemporary Review, May); J. Chopin, *La Préméditation Austro-Hongroise* (Mercure de France, June 16).

#### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The Historisch Genootschap of Utrecht expects to issue before the end of the present year, as one of its series of *Werken*, a journal kept by the Grand-Duke Cosimo III. of Tuscany during his travels in the Netherlands in 1666 and 1667, with accompanying reports, notes, and letters by members of his suite, the whole edited by Dr. G. J. Hoogewerff, secretary of the Dutch Historical Institute in Rome. In course of time this is to be followed by the correspondence of Margaret of Parma, ed. Dr. J. S. Theissen, that of the De Witts, ed. Dr. N. Japikse, the minutes of the synod of the cloth-finishers, ed. Dr. N. W. Posthumus, and the acts of the Kerkeraad of Holland, 1560-1563, ed. Dr. A. A. van Schelven.

The Century Company will publish this month *The Golden Book of the Dutch Navigators*, by Dr. Hendrik Willem van Loon of Cornell University, illustrated.

*La Belgique Monumentale* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1916) is a low-priced edition of one hundred of the best plates selected from the extended and expensive works on Belgian art and architecture by Sluyserman and van Ysendyck.

The story of the process by which Antwerp gained its commercial importance of the sixteenth century is carefully told by Jervis Wegg in *Antwerp, 1477-1559, from the Battle of Nancy to the Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis* (Methuen).

The Belgian government has published *Le Troisième Livre Gris Belge, Réponse au Livre Blanc Allemand du 10 Mai 1915* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916, pp. 525).

Under the title *Ceux qui Arrêtèrent les Barbares* (Paris, Lethielleux, 1915, pp. 396), Xavier Roux has published a volume of biographical sketches of King Albert, Cardinal Mercier, M. de Broqueville, M. Carton de Wiart, and M. Vandervelde.

The anonymous author of *La Belgique sous la Griffe Allemande* has continued his indictment of the German occupation in *Les Prussiens en Belgique* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1916). A similar work by a Belgian scholar who remained in Belgium for a year collecting evidence and then succeeded in escaping across the frontier with his materials is *Comment les Belges résistent à la Domination Allemande* (Paris, Payot,

1916) by Jean Massart. An English translation has been published under the title *Belgians under the German Eagle*. Commandant de Gerlache is the author of *La Belgique et les Belges pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916), and J. Boubée of *La Belgique Loyale, Héroïque, et Malheureuse* (Paris, Plon, 1915), and of *Dans la Belgique Envahie, parmi les Blessés Allemands, Août-Décembre, 1914* (*ibid.*, 1916).

Albert Fuglister, a Swiss who spent several months in Belgium, has published *Louvain, Ville Martyre* (Paris, Delandre, 1916), which is fortified with documents and photographs. *Le Supplice de Louvain* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1915) by R. Narsy contains a brief bibliography of the subject. *The Truth about Louvain* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1915, pp. 95) is by R. Chambry.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. S. Unger, *De Hollandsche Graanhandel en Graanhandelpolitiek in de Middeleeuwen*, III. [concl.] (*De Economist*, June 15); A. Soulangue-Bodin, *L'Avant-Guerre en Belgique* (*Revue de Paris*, May 15); E. de Keyser, *L'Armée Belge et la Neutralité de la Belgique* (*Mercure de France*, May 1).

#### NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

In 1904, excavation of a mound at Oseberg on the Christiania Fjord disclosed the burial-place of a Vestfold queen of the middle of the ninth century, interred in her ship and surrounded by her attendants and by a wonderful variety of objects of furniture and art, so that the find has amounted to a museum of Norse culture in the heathen period. The Norwegian state now publishes the results in three handsomely illustrated volumes, *Osebergfundet*, edited by Professors A. W. Brøgger, H. Falk, and Haakon Schetelig.

*A Storia della Polonia e delle sue Relazioni con l'Italia* (Milan, Treves, 1916, pp. 352) is by F. Giannini.

Volume I. of S. M. Dubnow's *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland* has been translated by I. Friedlaender and published by the Jewish Publication Society.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Lindroth, *Studier över Ort-namnen på -lösa* (*Fornvännen*, 1915); E. Bull, *Formation de la Nationalité Norvégienne* (*Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, July); Leo Wiener, *Peter Dobell, an American Citizen in Russian Service* (*Russian Review*, August); M. Lauwick, *La Réforme Financière en Russie* (*Journal des Économistes*, April 15); Mme. B. de Bibikoff, *Nicolas II. dans l'Intimité* (*Revue Hebdomadaire*, June 17); Leo Pasvolksky, *M. M. Kovalevsky* (*Russian Review*, June); H. Freiherrn von Egloffstein, *Erinnerungen an den Bulgarischen Hof* (*Deutsche Rundschau*, March); J. L. Sergent, *Trois Mois aux Dardanelles* (*Revue de Paris*, May 1, 15); J. Vassal, *Lettres de Serbie* (*ibid.*); G. Suchet, *Gli Attuali Teatri di*

*Guerra Balcanica e la Campagna di Giulio Cesare nell' Anno 48 A. C.* (Nuova Antologia, June 16); J. de Morgan, *Les Arméniens* (Revue de Paris, May 1).

#### THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

*The Log-Book of William Adams, 1614-1619*, preserved in the Bodleian Library, has been for the first time published, along with the journal of Edward Saris and other documents relating to the first English settlement in Japan under Iyeyasu, in volume XIII. of the *Transactions of the Japan Society of London*, and separately (pp. 343), with an introduction and notes by Mr. C. J. Purnell.

Professor H. G. Rawlinson has published a general monograph on *Intercourse between India and the Western World from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Rome* (Cambridge University Press, pp. 204).

Messrs. Smith, Elder, and Company have issued a volume by Sir Edward Thackeray, V. C., entitled *Reminiscences of the Indian Mutiny and Afghanistan*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Bellessort, *L'Apôtre des Indes et du Japon, François de Xavier*, III.-IV. (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1, July 15); Nadaillac, *Le Japon Moderne d'après son Récent Historien* [Marquis de la Mazelière] (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXIX. 5); A. Gérard, *L'Évolution de l'Asie Orientale et l'Alliance Japonaise, 1894-1915* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 15); S. Millot, *Excursions Rapides en Chine*, VIII. *Pékin et ses Palais en Avril 1901* (Bulletin de l'Association Amicale Franco-Chinoise, October, 1915); F. Farjenel, *Yuen Chekai* (Revue de Paris, July 1); Sir Guilford Molesworth, *The Common Origin of the Religions of India* (Asiatic Review, May); Commandant Davin, *L'Angleterre dans le Golfe Persique, Koweït et Mascate* (Revue de Paris, July 15).

#### AMERICA

##### GENERAL ITEMS

In the preparation of the Carnegie Institution's atlas of the historical geography of the United States, Dr. Paullin has practically completed the section relating to the history of our international boundaries and of disputes relating to them; Dr. J. A. Robertson has completed the plans for the section devoted to reproductions of old maps, to illustrate the development of geographical knowledge respecting America. The index to Professor Hill's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Papeles de Cuba* is in press, and that of Professor Golder's *Guide to the Materials for American History in Russian Archives* is nearly completed, so that both books may be expected to be issued before long.

The Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress has recently acquired the papers of Samuel F. B. Morse, presented by his son, Edward L. Morse; a body of the legal papers and personal letters of

Alexander Hamilton; the records of the Geneva Arbitration kept by the late J. C. Bancroft Davis, agent of the United States, the gift of Mrs. Bancroft Davis; the account-book of the executors of the estate of Thomas Lord Fairfax, 1781-1798; and a letter-book found in Florida and containing correspondence of governors of West Florida, 1770-1774, with the British Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Messrs. Longmans have brought out an *Introduction to American History*, by Professors J. A. Woodburn and T. F. Moran. The work is designed to present the European history which the pupil needs as a background for the study of American history.

The success of the series of small volumes entitled *The Chronicles of Canada*, presenting the history of that nation in fresh and attractive form, has led the publishers, Messrs. Glasgow, Brook, and Company, of Toronto, in conjunction with the Yale University Press, to undertake a similar series for American history, entitled *The Chronicles of America*, in which an attempt will be made, in 49 small volumes of narrative (followed by a general index), to realize the ideals of historical narration and of the description of social evolution held forth in the address delivered by Colonel Roosevelt in 1912 as president of the American Historical Association. The series is being prepared under the editorial supervision of Professor Allen Johnson. Some notion of its plan and tendencies may be obtained from the list of titles of volumes proposed: The Red Man's Continent, The Spaniard in America, English Sea-Dogs on the Coasts of America, The Crusaders of New France, The Virginians and their Neighbors, The Puritan Colonies, The Dutch on the Hudson, The Quaker Colonies, Folkways of Colonial America, The Fight with France, The Eve of the Revolution, Lexington to Yorktown, The Fathers of the Republic, Washington and his Colleagues, The Age of Jefferson, The Work of John Marshall, The War with England, Pioneers of the Old Southwest, The Old Northwest, The Reign of Andrew Jackson, The Ways of Inland Commerce, The Merchant Marine: a Glory Departed, Pioneer Life in the Mississippi Valley, The Age of Invention, The Founders of American Education, The American People in Literature, The Adventurers of Oregon, Texas and the Mexican War, The Forty-Niners, The Old South, The Anti-Slavery Crusade, The Day of Abraham Lincoln, The Day of the Confederacy, Battlefields of the Union, Battlefields of the Confederacy, The Sequel of Appomattox, The Passing of the Frontier, The Railroad Builders, The Farmers' Movement, The New South, The Age of Big Business, The Cleveland Era, The Foreigners, The Boss and the Machine, The Masters of Capital, The Path of Empire, Theodore Roosevelt and his Times, The Canadian Dominion, The Latin-American Republics. For nearly all these volumes, competent writers have already been engaged.

Messrs. Longmans have brought out *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*, compiled and edited by E. L. Bogart and C. M. Thompson.

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The *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology, the volume for 1907-1908 (Washington, 1916, pp. 636), is almost entirely occupied with a minute study of the Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians, by John R. Harrington, in which cosmography, meteorology, and especially place-names are presented in great detail. The *Thirtieth Annual Report* (for 1908-1909) presents two main papers, one on the Ethnobotany of the Zúñi Indians, by Mrs. M. C. Stevenson, the other an inquiry into the Animism and Folklore of the Guiana Indians, by Walter E. Roth.

The United States Bureau of Education, which a generation ago produced a series of monographs on the history of higher education in the several states, edited by Professor H. B. Adams, has now begun a new series of *Bulletins* on the history of public school education, to be prepared by Dr. Stephen B. Weeks of the Bureau. The first two, for Alabama and Arkansas (pp. 209, 131), have already appeared.

The Statute Law Book Company of Washington, D. C., has recently issued facsimiles of the Massachusetts *Resolves* of the November session of 1792, of which the original is very rare; of the South Carolina *Acts, Reports, and Resolutions* of the general session of 1808; and of the *Journal* (embracing some acts) of the Missouri senate during an extra session of the Confederate legislature held at Neosho in October, 1861. The last item was printed in considerable numbers in 1866, but is now very rare.

The *German-American Annals* for May-August continues Mr. Brede's history of the German Drama in English on the Philadelphia Stage, and also has an article on Johann Heinrich Miller, the printer, by Mr. C. F. Dapp.

In the July number of the *Catholic Historical Review* Bishop Corrigan continues his valuable articles on the Episcopal Succession in the United States by an installment treating of the provinces of New Orleans and New York. Rev. Dr. Edwin Ryan presents an article on Diocesan Organization in the Spanish Colonies, covering however only the earliest period and lacking completeness in some particulars, apparently from not knowing of the third volume of Eubel's *Hierarchia Catholica*. Rev. Dr. J. B. Culemans urges a revaluation of early Peruvian history, in the sense of a revision of the opinions derived from Prescott. Rev. Gerardo Decorme, S. J., follows with an article on Catholic Education in Mexico. Among other interesting documents printed appear a group, dated in 1790, relating to the proposed bishopric of Gallipolis, and extracts from the letters of Archbishop Maréchal to the Propaganda.

The principal paper in the June number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* is entitled Father Peter de Smet, Mighty Sower (1801-1873), and is by Rev. Joseph M. Corrigan.

In the *Magazine of History* for March George S. Rowell gives a sketch of Benjamin Vaughan, Grace Ellis Taft a study of the Seneca Law, D. M. Wilcox describes an Episode of Shays' Rebellion, and Joel N. Eno presents a first paper on New York County Names. The last article is continued in April and May. In the latter issues also appear the first two of a series of papers by George S. Rowell, on John Baker, the Hero of Madawaska, and in the April number a reprint of Mr. George Haven Putnam's article on the *London Times* and the American Civil War, published some years ago in *Putnam's Magazine*.

The *Magazine of History Extra*, no. 43, comprises E. B. Washburne's *Abraham Lincoln*, E. J. Young's *The Lesson of the Hour*, and Robert D. Owen's *Looking Backward across the War-Gulf*. No. 44 of the same series includes John Law's *Address on Old Vincennes* and William Cobbett's *French Arrogance*. No. 45 of the series contains Richard Edwards's *Life and Character of Abraham Lincoln*, Erastus E. Holt's *Abraham Lincoln, his "Illusion" of 1860*, and some other Lincoln items. No. 46 of the same series includes Andros's *Old Jersey Captive*, Captain Baynton's *Authentic Memoirs of William Augustus Bowles*, and De Witt Clinton's *Memoir of the Antiquities of the Western Part of the State of New York* (Tarrytown, Abbatt).

*The Negro Year-Book* for 1916-1917, edited by Mr. Monroe N. Work and published at the Tuskegee Institute, contains in handy form for reference much useful historical and bibliographical information.

#### ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Rev. Mariano Cuevas, S. J., has just published in Seville (Diaz, 1915, pp. vii, 355) and in Mexico, in a small edition, forty-two original documents of Cortés, *Cartas y Otros Documentos de Hernán Cortés, novisimamente descubiertos en el Archivo General de las Indias*.

The attention of students of American church history should be called to a paper by Professor Frederick J. Zwierlein on "Les Nominations Épiscopales aux Premiers Temps de l'Épiscopat Américain" in *Mélanges d'Histoire offerts à Charles Moeller* (1914).

The Naval History Society has just published the *Papers of Rear-Admiral Graves*, edited by Rear-Admiral F. E. Chadwick. It has acquired the papers and journals of Francis G. Dallas, 1840-1856, who served in the American and Prussian navies; some 100 volumes of log-books, 1808-1840, chiefly of the period of the War of 1812; and a fine collection of the magazines and newspapers published on board the ships of the United States navy.

Though few copies of the work are available, since it has been printed solely for the members of the Roxburghe Club, students of Loyalist history should know of the existence of *The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists, 1783 to 1785, being the*



*Notes of Mr. Daniel Parker Coke, M. P., one of the Commissioners during that Period*, edited by Professor Hugh E. Egerton of Oxford. The original notes, in seven manuscript volumes, have been presented to the New York Public Library by Mrs. Whitelaw Reid.

Houghton Mifflin Company announces that the first two volumes of Hon. Albert J. Beveridge's *Life of John Marshall* will issue from the press this autumn.

The fourth number of the *Smith College Studies in History* (pp. 165-220) combines a paper by Professor Edward R. Turner on Woman Suffrage in New Jersey, 1794-1807, and a body of documents on the Cherokee Negotiations of 1822 and 1823, edited by Professor Annie H. Abel of Smith College.

A considerable number of extracts from the unpublished correspondence of Gen. William J. Worth illustrative of the Mexican War were printed in the *New York Times Magazine* of July 16.

Another volume has been added to the works on Lincoln, by Mr. Henry B. Rankin in *Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln* (Putnam). Mr. Rankin was for a number of years a student in the law office of Lincoln and Herndon.

The Chicago Historical Society has published, as a pamphlet, *The Convention that Nominated Lincoln* (University Press, pp. 38), an interesting address by Professor P. Orman Ray of Northwestern University, on the outward and local aspects of the convention of 1860.

The London *Spectator* of June 3 and 10 prints "Reminiscences of the American Civil War" by Lord Cromer. This is an account of the trench-fighting before Petersburg based on Cromer's recollection of his visit to the front when he was in America in 1864 (as Lieut. Evelyn Baring).

*The Long Arm of Lee: or the History of the Artillery of the Army of Northern Virginia; with a brief Account of the Confederate Bureau of Ordnance*, is the title of a work in two volumes by J. C. Wise (Lynchburg, Bell).

Dr. Bernard C. Steiner has brought out through the J. Murphy Company of Baltimore a *Life of Henry Winter Davis* (1817-1865). The book includes an autobiographic sketch of Davis's early years.

*The Autobiography and Letters of Matthew Vassar*, the founder of Vassar College, edited by Eliza H. Haight, is published by the Oxford University Press.

Cardinal Farley is understood to be occupied with a volume of the *Life and Letters of Cardinal McCloskey*; Professor Frederick J. Zwierlein, of St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, with a *Life and Letters of Bishop McQuade*, of that diocese.

A supplement to the July number of the *American Journal of International Law* (pp. v, 121-225) consists of official documents on "Regulations governing the Visits of Men-of-War to Foreign Ports" and "Correspondence between Mexico and the United States regarding the American Punitive Expedition, 1916".

#### LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

The Maine Historical Society has recently acquired a volume of records of the proprietors of Phillipstown (now Sanford), containing entries running from 1661 to 1826.

*A History of Maine State College and the University of Maine*, by Professor M. C. Fernald, has been published by the University of Maine.

The next volume of *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society will consist of the correspondence between John Adams and James Warren during the War for Independence. The society expects also to issue a volume of documents, chiefly from British sources, on Capt. William Phips's search for treasure in the Bahamas. It has reproduced by the photostat its unique file of the *Georgia Gazette*, 1763-1773. The reproduction of the *Boston News-Letter*, which at the time of the annual report in April had been carried to the end of 1714, will during the coming year be carried to the end of 1726. The serial of *Proceedings* for April includes a paper by Professor M. M. Bigelow on the Early History of the English Jury. That for May includes a paper by Winslow Warren on Contemporaneous Opinion and one by Harold Murdock entitled Historic Doubts on the Battle of Lexington. The June serial prints from the original manuscript the journal of Josiah Quincy, jr., concerning a journey to South Carolina, Pennsylvania, and New York in 1773, printed already in 1825 and in 1874, but now presented without omissions.

*Governor John Endecot's Humble Petition and Address of the General Court at Boston to Charles the Second* has been included in *Heartman's Historical Series* (New York, C. F. Heartman).

The main contribution to the July number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* is a full and valuable history of the Eastern Railroad, by F. B. C. Bradley.

The Club for Colonial Reprints will soon issue, at Providence (68 Waterman Street), as its sixth publication, Edward Winslow's *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, reprinted, for the first time, from the original edition printed in London in 1647, and with an introduction by Mr. Howard M. Chapin. Seventy-five copies are offered for sale.

Under the title *Museum illustrating the History of the State*, the Rhode Island Historical Society has printed in a pamphlet of 32 pages, with many interesting illustrations, an account of its museum, prepared by the librarian, Mr. Howard M. Chapin.

Under the title *Documentary History of Yale University* (Yale University Press), Professor Franklin B. Dexter has produced a compilation of the more important documents relating to the history of the institution, from its beginnings to the charter of May, 1745. The same press also publishes *The Beginnings of Yale*, by Edwin B. Oviatt.

A *History of the State of New York*, by C. F. Horne, with an introduction by J. A. Holden, has been published by Messrs. Heath.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for May contains a Checklist of Eulogies and Funeral Orations on the Death of George Washington, by Margaret B. Stillwell. The July and August numbers begin a history of the library (thus far, of the Astor Library) by Mr. H. M. Lydenberg.

The oldest records of an ancient, and in modern times famous, township, are printed in *Oyster Bay Town Records*, vol. I., 1653-1690 (New York, Tobias A. Wright), annotated and otherwise edited by John Cox, jr., with an historical sketch by George W. Cocks.

A valuable contribution to local history is Mr. Charles W. Dahlinger's *Pittsburgh: a Sketch of its Early Social Life*, published by G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The Daughters of the American Revolution of Allegheny County, Pa., have brought out a booklet entitled *Fort Duquesne and Fort Pitt*.

*Allegheny: a Century of Education, 1815-1915*, by Professor E. A. Smith of Allegheny College, is published in Meadville, Pennsylvania (Allegheny College History Company).

The Maryland Historical Society has acquired as a deposit the papers of David B. Warden (1778-1845), for forty years United States consul in Paris.

The September number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* concludes David B. Warden's journal of a voyage to Cherbourg in the *Constitution* in 1811, continues (without giving any year-date) the journal of Uria Brown respecting westward surveys, continues from December 29, 1775, to April 11, 1776, the journal of the Frederick County Committee of Observation, and prints some correspondence of 1752 between the youthful Charles Carroll and his father.

In the June number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* are printed a number of hitherto unpublished letters (1683-1685) of the first William Byrd; others will appear in later issues. These letters are from a letter-book of William Byrd, from which selections were printed in volumes I. and II. of the *Virginia Historical Register* and in the first number of this journal. The Report of the Journey of Franz Ludwig Michel from Bern, Switzerland, to Virginia (1701-1702), translated and edited by Professor William J. Hinke, is concluded in this number.

The *Richmond College Historical Papers*, vol. I., no. 2 (June), embodies four valuable studies: Virginia Loyalists, 1775-1783, by J. A. George; the Presidential Election of 1860 in Virginia, by Margaret K. Monteiro; Andrew Stevenson (1784-1857), by Eugene N. Gardner; and the Campaign of 1855 in Virginia and the Fall of the Know-Nothing Party, by Constance M. Gay. There is also a selection of Petitions and Letters to the Convention, Governor, or House of Delegates, 1775-1783.

The Macmillan Company has published a *History of Education in Virginia*, by C. J. Heatwole, professor in the State Normal School.

*A History of Monroe County, West Virginia*, by O. F. Morton, has been brought out in Staunton, Va. (McClure Company).

The state of South Carolina has published the *Journals of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina*, for the two sessions of 1698, edited by A. S. Salley, jr., secretary of the Historical Commission of the state (Columbia, 1914, pp. 40).

In the April number of the *South Carolina Historical Magazine* the most important portions are the continuation of letters from the papers of General Greene and of the order-book of J. F. Grinké. The July number contains a brief journal of recruiting in June and July, 1775, by Capt. Bernard Elliott, and a letter of Mrs. Charles Pinckney, 1785, on her introduction of indigo into the colony.

*A History of the University of South Carolina*, by E. L. Green, has been issued in Columbia by the State Publishing Company.

The *Fifth Biennial Report* (1914-1915) of the board of curators of the Louisiana State Museum includes some account of the records of the superior council of Louisiana, in the possession of the museum. For a considerable part of the French period (namely, 1717-1743 and 1763-1769) the records have been indexed by Mr. William Price, although unfortunately the work of indexing has been brought to a close for lack of funds. The museum has received by transfer from the city archives twenty volumes of *cabildo* documents. These are both Spanish and American and date principally from about 1770 to 1835.

Volume 8 of the *Publications* of the Louisiana Historical Society (New Orleans, 1916, pp. 124) includes an account of the indexing of the above-named papers, by Mr. Price; an article on the "Black Code" by J. J. McLoughlin; an account of Bienville's Difficulties in the Founding of New Orleans, by Mrs. S. B. Elder; and of Louisiana Contributions to Medical Science, by Dr. Edmond Souchon.

The June number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* presents four valuable articles: one upon the French on the Tennessee, entitled The Tennessee River as a Road to Carolina: Beginnings of Exploration and Trade, by Mr. V. W. Crane; Virginia and the West, an Interpretation, by Professor C. W. Alvord; the Economic History

of American Agriculture as a Field for Study, a paper read at the last meeting of the American Historical Association, by Professor L. B. Schmidt; and a general survey of Historical Activities in the Old Northwest during the last few years, by Professor A. C. Cole. A note by Mr. C. S. Larzelere gives the history of the disputed boundary between Iowa and Missouri.

The tenth annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association will be held at Indianapolis, October 4 and 5, and will take on a special character by reason of its association with the state centennial celebration of Indiana, which fills the days from October 2 to October 15 and has many other notable features of historical interest. Among the papers to be read before the Ohio Valley society we note, besides the presidential address of Professor Harlow Lindley, the following: Land Speculations in the Thirties, by Professor R. C. McGrane; The New Purchase, by Professor J. A. Woodburn; A Lost Opportunity—Internal Improvements, by Worthington C. Ford; and five papers on important subjects in Indiana history.

The entire content of the July number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is an account, by William C. Mills, of the exploration of the Tremper mound, near Portsmouth, Ohio. The article is illustrated with cuts of the many artifacts found in the mound.

The May number of the *Ohio History Teachers' Journal* is occupied with Suggestions for the Teaching of English History in the High School, by W. C. Harris.

The June number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains a paper, by Ora Ellen Cox, on the Socialist Party in Indiana, one by Elmore Barce on Tecumseh's Confederacy, a discussion, by J. P. Dunn, of the question Who was our Sieur de Vincennes? and an account, by Maurice Murphy, of Some Features in the History of Parke County.

Hubert M. Skinner has brought out a *Centennial History of Indiana* for schools and teachers' institutes (Chicago, Atkinson), while Messrs. Putnam have brought out a centennial edition, revised and enlarged, of Julia H. Levering's *Historic Indiana*.

The volumes, by the publication of which the state of Illinois will celebrate in 1918 the centennial of its admission to the Union, will be five in number. They are being prepared under the general editorship of Professor Clarence W. Alvord. As a preliminary (and probably in 1917) Dr. Solon J. Buck, now of Minnesota, will bring out a special volume surveying conditions in Illinois in 1818. The five volumes of the centennial history will be entitled as follows: *Province and Territory, 1673-1818*, by Professor Alvord; *The Frontier State, 1818-1848*, by Dr. Theodore C. Pease; *The Era of Transition, 1848-1870*, by Professor Arthur C. Cole; *The Industrial State, 1870-1893*, by Professor Ernest L. Bogart and Dr. Pease; and *The Modern Commonwealth, 1893-1918*, by Professor Bogart and Mr. John M. Mathews.

Among the papers in the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* for the year 1914 (*Publication* no. 20 of the Illinois State Historical Library) are: the Early Courts of Chicago and Cook County, by Orrin N. Carter; the Life and Services of Shelby M. Cullom, by H. A. Converse; the Methodist Episcopal Church and Reconstruction, by Professor W. W. Sweet; the Destruction of Kaskaskia by the Mississippi River, by J. H. Burnham; the Great Whig Convention at Springfield, June 3 to 4, 1840, by Isabel Jamison; Northern Illinois and Southern Illinois in the same convention, by Edith P. Kelly and Martha M. Davidson, respectively; and a further discussion of the Destruction of a Branch of the Fox Tribe of Indians, by John F. Steward. In the *Transactions* for 1915 (*Publication* no. 21) are found the following: Life of Adlai E. Stevenson, by John W. Cook; Indian Treaties affecting Lands in the present State of Illinois, by Frank R. Grover; and Gen. James Shields of Illinois, an address delivered by Francis O'Shaughnessy at the dedication, November 12, 1914, of a monument to General Shields at Carrollton, Missouri.

In the series of *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, Miss Frances M. Moorehouse has published a detailed life (pp. 129) of Jesse W. Fell (1808-1887), an able and public-spirited politician of Illinois, now chiefly remembered as founder of the normal school which has grown into the State Normal University.

*The Development of Chicago, 1674-1914: shown in a Series of Contemporary Original Narratives*, compiled and edited by M. M. Quaife, has been brought out in Chicago by the Caxton Club.

*The Life and Adventures of Colonel Daniel Boone*, written by himself, together with the added narrative of his later life, has been included in *Heartman's Historical Series* (New York, C. F. Heartman).

Among the contents of the May number of the *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society are a Biographical Sketch of Major Henry T. Stanton, Poet and Journalist, of Kentucky, by J. Stoddard Johnston, and a Sketch of the Life and Times of General Benjamin Logan, by Bessie T. Conkwright. The society intends before long to publish a collection of the editorials written by George D. Prentice, of the *Louisville Journal*, during the campaign of 1860, with a general introduction and annotations by Miss Mary Scrugham.

*A History of Fentress County, Tennessee* (which claims the distinction of being the old home of Mark Twain's ancestors), by A. R. Hogue, has been brought out in Nashville (Williams).

The May number of the *Minnesota History Bulletin* is chiefly occupied by an illustrated article on the admirable new building erected for the society by the state. The most noteworthy article in the August number is that by Franklin F. Holbrook, entitled the Neill Papers in the Manuscript Collection of the Minnesota Historical Society. These pa-

pers, in large part the property of the society since 1909, comprise about 3000 documents and cover the years from 1836 to 1893. They have but recently been so arranged as to be easily accessible and Mr. Holbrook's excellent description, both of the career of Mr. Neill and of the contents of the papers, will be a valuable aid to all students using them.

In the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for July Jacob Van der Zee recounts some Episodes in the Early History of the Des Moines Valley and Ruth A. Gardner offers the third of her series of articles on the Indian agent, namely, Agents among the Sacs and Foxes. The *Journal* reprints, under the title Arguments in Favor of the Admission of Iowa into the Union, an article which appeared in the *Iowa Capitol Reporter* of July 23, 1842. To this Dan E. Clark supplies a brief introduction.

The Nebraska State Historical Society has an additional volume of *Proceedings* now in the printer's hands.

The Missouri Historical Society has just received the deposit of newspaper files of the *St. Louis Republic* covering the period from 1808 to 1911, and the gift of odd volumes of the *Globe-Democrat* and *Post-Dispatch*. The *Missouri Gazette*, the first predecessor of the *Republic*, was the first paper published west of the Mississippi River.

The State Historical Society of Missouri has constituted a committee of five to formulate plans for the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of Missouri into the Union.

In the July issue of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* M. J. Atwood discusses the Sources of the Mexican Acta Constitutiva, Adalbert Regenbrecht gives some account of the German Settlers of Millheim, Texas, before the Civil War, A. E. Wilkinson writes concerning the Author of the Texas Homestead Exemption Law (Louis P. Cooke), and Owen C. Coy relates briefly the story of the Last Expedition of Josiah Gregg, an expedition in 1850 from the mines on Trinity River in Northern California to Humboldt Bay and thence southward to Clear Lake. Miss Clara M. Love's History of the Cattle Industry in the Southwest is continued.

*The Book of Texas* (historical, statistical, patriotic, etc.), by John A. Lomax and H. Y. Benedict of the University of Texas, has recently been put forth by Doubleday, Page, and Company.

*The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630*, translated by Mrs. E. E. Ayer and annotated by F. W. Hodge, is privately printed but can be obtained from Lowdermilk in Washington, D. C.

The *Washington Historical Quarterly* for July contains an account of the Sinclair Party: an Emigration Overland along the Old Hudson Bay Company Route from Manitoba to the Spokane Country in 1854, prepared by William S. Lewis from a series of letters written to him by



John V. Cambell of Lilloett, British Columbia; an article entitled Alaska under the Russians: Baranof the Builder, by C. L. Andrews; one concerning Fort Hall on the Saptin River, by Miles Cannon; and another on Mining in Alaska before 1867, by Professor F. A. Golder. In this number of the *Quarterly* appears also the first installment of a diary kept by Col. and Mrs. I. N. Ebey, who took up their residence on Whidbey Island in Puget Sound, about 1850. The diary begins in 1852. It is edited for the *Quarterly* by Victor J. Farrar.

An historical society has been organized at Spokane under the title of the Spokane Historical Society, with Mr. N. W. Durham as president and Mr. William S. Lewis as corresponding secretary.

*Early Days in Old Oregon*, by Miss Katharine B. Judson, is especially intended for children (Chicago, McClurg).

*California Place-Names of Indian Origin*, by Professor A. L. Kroeber, is a recent publication of the University of California.

Dr. Charles E. Chapman's *The Founding of Spanish California*, recently published by Macmillan, is based on long-continued researches in the Archives of the Indies at Seville, and on thorough study of other materials.

At the annual meeting of the Ontario Historical Society in June the presidential address, by Mr. Clarence M. Warner, was on Canadian History as a Hobby. Sir Edmund Walker was elected president for the next year, and Mr. J. Ross Robertson and Miss Janet Carnochan vice-presidents.

The Champlain Society has recently published *David Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations in Western America, 1784-1812*, edited by J. B. Tyrrell, who a number of years ago wrote a *Brief Narrative of the Journeys of David Thompson*.

*The Story of the Canadian Pacific Railway*, published recently by William Stevens, is the work of Mr. Keith Morris.

A history of an important branch of recent industrial development is Frederick M. Halsey's *Railway Expansion in Latin-America* (New York, Moody Magazine and Book Company).

Mrs. Edith Coues O'Shaughnessy, wife of Nelson O'Shaughnessy, chargé d'affaires of the United States in Mexico during the Huerta régime, has published, under the title *A Diplomat's Wife in Mexico*, a series of her letters written from the city of Mexico between October 8, 1913, and April 23, 1914. The book also includes an account of the occupation of Vera Cruz (Harper).

Mr. Thomas A. Joyce, assistant in the department of ethnology at the British Museum, has produced, under the title *Central American and West Indian Archaeology*, an introductory account of the archaeology

of Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, and the West Indies (London, Lee Warner, 1916, pp. 286, with illustrations). This summary of the religions, customs, arts, and crafts of the early inhabitants of these regions forms a link in the series between one on Mexico and the Maya Region, which deals also with Honduras and Guatemala, and another on South America.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. N. Wardle, *The Ancients of the Bow of the Tennessee* (Harper's Monthly, September); L. M. Sears, *The Puritan and his Indian Ward* (American Journal of Sociology, July); C. M. Andrews, *Captain Henry Wilkinson* (South Atlantic Quarterly, July); R. L. Schuyler, *Agreement in the Federal Convention* (Political Science Quarterly, June); R. G. Usher, *Washington and "Entangling Alliances"* (North American Review, July); Gaillard Hunt, *The Department of State* (Harper's Monthly, September); D. E. Smith, *The Development of the American Arithmetic* (Educational Review, September); Major Thomas Rowland, C.S.A., *Letters of a Virginia Cadet at West Point, 1859-1861*, V. (South Atlantic Quarterly, July); W. M. Fullerton, *The Monroe Doctrine and the War* (World's Work, July); William H. Taft, *Economic and Political Summary of the Generation just Closing* (Journal of the National Institute of Social Sciences, vol. I., no. 1); Father Alexis, *De la Manière d'écrire l'Histoire au Canada*, I.-III. (La Nouvelle France, May, June, July); M. Albéric, *Les Capucins en Acadie, 1632-1654* [concl.] (*ibid.*, January); P. G. Roy, *Crime et Peines sous le Régime Français*, I. (Revue Canadienne, July); J. Boyd, *Thomas Storrow Brown et le Soulèvement de 1837 dans le Bas-Canada* (*ibid.*, July, August); F. Ortiz, *Origen de los Afro-Cubanos* (Cuba Contemporánea, July); C. H. Cunningham, *The Origin of the Friar Lands Question in the Philippines* (American Political Science Review, August).



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	Predic- tion	Re- sult		Predic- tion	Re- sult		Predic- tion	Re- sult
Alabama	W	W	Maine	W	W	Ohio	W	W
Arizona	W	W	Maryland	W	W	Oklahoma	W	W
Arkansas	W	W	Massachusetts	W	W	Oregon	D	W
California	R	R	Michigan	D	R	Pennsylvania	D	R
Colorado	W	W	Minnesota	W	R	Rhode Island	D	W
Connecticut	W	W	Mississippi	W	W	South Carolina	W	W
Delaware	W	W	Missouri	W	W	South Dakota	D	R
Florida	W	W	Montana	W	W	Tennessee	W	W
Georgia	W	W	Nebraska	W	W	Texas	W	W
Idaho	D	W	Nevada	D	W	Utah	T	T
Illinois	D	R	New Hampshire	D	W	Vermont	T	T
Indiana	W	W	New Jersey	W	W	Virginia	W	W
Iowa	W	W	New Mexico	W	W	Washington	R	R
Kansas	W	W	New York	W	W	West Virginia	W	W
Kentucky	W	W	North Carolina	W	W	Wisconsin	W	W
Louisiana	W	W	North Dakota	D	W	Wyoming	D	W

States correctly placed.....	36
" incorrectly placed.....	1
Classified as doubtful.....	11
	<hr/> 48

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